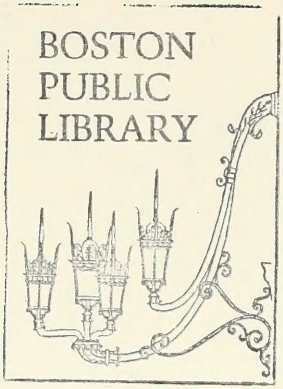

A FAMILY ALBUM:

THE MANY FACES OF PUBLIC HOUSING

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PREFACE

The following pages represent a working draft of what we anticipate will ultimately be a more comprehansive effort, including all twenty-five family projects. In this paper, we merely attempt to set forth a number of findings--illustratively rather than definitely--for the purpose of eliciting critical commentary. More specifically, we hope to determine the extent to which this data might be more effectively analyzed with regard to policy planning, operational decision making and tenant-management relations.

We have characterized both the physical and the social climate of representative projects to ascertain the nature and importance of environmental circumstances for tenant sentiment. Preliminary findings support the relevance of this approach; e.g., tenants tend to be satisfied with their project in direct proportion to their involvement in the outside environment. Hopefully, we will be able to further refine and integrate this approach with other dimensions of the study.

The research hypotheses have been constructed with regard to their value for policy formulation. The preliminary evaluations that have emerged, as well as additional hypotheses yet to be tested, will later be used to support specific policy recommendations, including changes in the law that may be necessary to accomodate them.

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The following pages represent a working draft of what we anticipate will ultimately be a more comprehensive effort, including all twenty-five family projects. In this paper, we merely attempt to set forth a number of findings--illustratively rather than definitively--for the purpose of eliciting critical commentary. More specifically, we hope to determine the extent to which this data might be more effectively analyzed with regard to policy planning, operational decision making and human-management relations.

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The research hypotheses have been constructed with regard to their value for policy formulation. The preliminary evaluations that have emerged, as well as additional hypotheses yet to be tested, will later be used to support specific policy recommendations, including changes in the law that may be necessary to accomodate them.

In the interim, we have developed tentative proposals for a grievance procedure and for a new lease. The complaint procedure may afford an effective vehicle within which tenants and the Housing Authority can mediate their differences. Moreover, it may provide a medium within which they may communicate on other issues of mutual concern. However, it is our assumption that without an effective and possibly militant tenant council, this procedure cannot work within the present context of public housing. In any event, the grievance procedure is an untested hypothesis and, for that reason, we have merely outlined an approach that will have to be refined experientally.

With regard to the proposed lease, we have attempted to restate in clearer language many of the rights and duties of the present Boston Housing Authority lease, where it appeared necessary to afford additional rights and duties in order to adjust the present imbalance in bargaining power between the tenants and the BHA; and, finally, to eliminate the more oppresive provisions of the existing lease. Henoe, the proposed lease presents an array of possibilities from which a model lease may be derived.

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Note: For background on the project areas we have drawn upon the ABCD target area profiles and on the Boston Globe series on Boston's neighborhoods (page references to "Globe").

SECTION I

THE PROJECTS:

1. THEIR ENVIRONMENT
2. TENANT ATTITUDES

SOUTH BOSTON

INTRODUCTION

South Boston has two faces. One, by far the more prestigious and prosperous, begins at Telegraph Hill and moves easterly toward Castle Island. It borders on the ocean and contains substantial two family dwellings along winding tree-lined streets. Because it is on the ocean and has an undulating terrain, it affords many residents engaging views of the ocean and neighboring parks. From Telegraph Hill, this face literally and figuratively "looks down" on the other face, for the more established and wealthier residents of South Boston live in the former area, whereas South Boston's poor live in the latter--designated the triangle because of its geographical configuration. They consider this lower, flatter area, containing 30% of the population of South Boston, to be outside the mainstream of "Southie's" best tradition.

The essence of this tradition is an abiding pride in the area's self-sufficiency, which is deeply rooted in its Irish heritage. Following the Civil War, South Boston quickly became populated largely by Irish immigrants. In the wake of this immigration, there developed an intense pride in community solidarity, self-sufficiency and civic responsibility. (In 1880, they established the first civic association in the United States, the South Boston Civic Association, which continues to this day). The ethnic homogeneity--coupled with a geographical isolation, bordered on three sides by water and on the fourth by railroad tracks--fostered an insular neighborhood.

This characterization began to change, however, in the years immediately following the depression. An exodus of second and third generation immigrant families coincided with the influx of "outsiders": first, people of other ethnic derivations and, most recently, blacks and Puerto Ricans.

The "outsiders" are viewed as the cause of the general decline of Southie, including an increase in the crime rate, a decrease in municipal services, and the deterioration of the housing stock. "The ones who cause trouble aren't the ones born here," complains one blue-eyed Irish-American whose parents were born in County Galway. "It's the outsiders. They've got no loyalty here."

The advent of the "Projects" (1938, 1940, 1949) accompanied and, in the eyes of many South Bostonians, generated the deterioration of a hitherto healthy and vibrant community. There can be no doubt that the three family projects in South Boston--West Broadway, Old Colony and Mary Ellen McCormack--constitute an irritating presence in the South Boston Community: if for no other reason, they symbolize the destruction of tightly-knit ethnic neighborhoods, rich and poor alike.

> Clean out the whole lower end . . .
> We didn't want them. Broken homes.
> ADC cases. That darned old
> project has ruined it all. They
> have no loyalty here.
>
> (Globe, p. 10)

The public housing tenants have not only intruded culturally but physically as well, dividing and displacing established neighborhoods, separating friends and, in one instance (W. Broadway), creating an architectural and social eyesore.

The outsiders are seen as introducing a way of life that is wholly contradictory and even destructive to Southie's most proudly held tradition: a pride in its individual and collective resources. These people "take care of their own", and, therefore, do not require any outside assistance.

> . . . a cabbie with nine children won't accept Medicaid because "I stay at home and support my family and I don't need any welfare handouts."
>
> (Globe, p. 9)

Although their living standard may be low, even at poverty levels, they refuse to consider themselves poor. There is an inner strength or hard headedness, depending on one's values, which compels them to endure hardships and deprivations without taking advantage of government subsidies. It is therefore not difficult to understand why older South Boston families, whether on the "hill" or in the triangle, view the project residents and others in the poverty pockets, who do not "take care of their own" or who accept welfare, as spiritual illegitimates in the South Boston family.

With the decline in self-sufficiency, Southie is no longer able to help itself and, therefore, does need help. However, the tradition of self-maintenance still persists, despite growing problems.

> (A place) . . . where Mrs. Louis Campers stands on her front steps on Athens Street . . . watching her grandchildren play near an abandoned house with unboarded cellar windows and says, "Everything's all right around here. I've no complaints."
>
> (Globe, p. 9)

APAC personnel report that it is difficult to work with South Boston's poor because their "loyalty" to the area will not allow them to take "charity" or allow anyone to care for them.

> This is the South Boston where it took months for the anti-poverty program to get started "because people here don't want to say they're poor, and they don't want handouts . . .
>
> (Globe, p. 11)

As a result, the South Boston APAC serves only 4500 people out of a total eligible population of 15,000 (in the triangle) for their services. A few illustrations will amply demonstrate the generalized reluctance to take "charity". In the category of children's services, the Laboure Center Nursery School is especially designed for low-income mothers. Only 93 women have taken advantage of this service, while an estimated 3800 are eligible. The self-supported Wee Folk Nursery for full-time employed mothers charges only $15.00 per week for its services; but only twenty-five women use it, yet 3800 are eligible.

The South Boston APAC reports that a substantial need for assistance does exist in South Boston. Of an estimated total population of 42,000 people, approximately 15,000 live in the poverty triangle, and of that number, 9,203 live in public housing. The triangle entails 4,292 families (2,861 in public housing) out of a total of 10,332 families in South Boston. Many of these families are unemployed or underemployed (44.1%). Although the median income for South Boston is $5300 (1960), income levels in the poverty pockets are considerably lower: 1,973 or 19.1% of the 10,332 families in South Boston earn less than $3,000 a year. Of every 1,000 adults, 98.2 have tuberculosis. Alcoholism is often cited as a pervasive problem. Thirty-two out of every 1,000 children die in infancy, and all children from low-income families are believed to have some health deficiency.

According to the APAC, teenagers are in greatest need of social services. Of every 1,000 youths between the ages of seven and seventeen, 2.5 are delinquent. Understandably, then, vandalism and teenage gangs have become a continuous irritant to the community. It is generally difficult for youths to find jobs, often because so many seek them. Cultural factors appear to contribute to the large number of youths over 16 who have dropped out of school; reluctance by the "traditionalists" of South Boston to accept public aid often leads their children to leave school at 16 to seek employment.[1]

Each point of the poverty triangle mentioned above is formed by one of the three family projects in South Boston. They also form a tripartite classification of the lower social and economic class: West Broadway (lower), Old Colony (middle); Mary Ellen McCormack (upper). West Broadway is nestled among warehouses, factories and dilapidated residential structures. Old Colony, several blocks closer to the ocean, borders a lower middle-income neighborhood and a small, mixed retail and light industrial area. Mary Ellen McCormack is immediately South of Old Colony, but isolated from it and the rest of South Boston by Columbia Road and the Southeast Expressway. The projects are connected by substantial pockets of poverty within the triangle.

A possible exception to the generalized hostility toward public housing is Mary Ellen McCormack. This project, the first in the city

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1. Eighth grade children in South Boston's Gavin School scored a grade average of 7.1 on the Iowa Silent Reading Test in 1962-1963, as compared to the grade average of 7.5 for the city of Boston as a whole.

   The South Boston APAC also reports that in high school reading levels for which the average score is 50, South Boston High School students score an average of 19.

of Boston, is the most attractive architecturally and demographically, if not in the city, then surely in South Boston. Originally inhabited by South Boston's best poor, it still retains an excellent reputation, although the socio-economic level has declined somewhat in recent years. Its status is evidenced by the fact that it was renamed for the mother of John McCormack, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and a native son of Southie.

WEST BROADWAY:

THE PROJECT

West Broadway seems to rise out of the cement between D and B streets. There are twenty-eight, three-story red-brick buildings arrayed so that pairs of V-shaped buildings face each other, forming fourteen open squares. The project itself is rectangular in design, bounded by West Broadway and West Seventh Street to the north and south; and D and B Streets to the east and west. The straight edges and angular lines contribute to the harshness of the environment. The fourteen squares themselves form one large square in the center of the project where a basketball court, parking area, two public schools and St. Peter's Church and a Catholic school can be found. Since there are no trees and the buildings are far apart, an impression is created that the project is merely a high extension of the sidewalk. Grit and glass are everywhere.

In the middle of each individual square is a cement play area that is enclosed by a five feet high chain link fence. These play areas are surfaced with dead grass and mud. Nearby are incinerators on the outside of each building; the areas around them are generally free of garbage. All the squares, however, are covered with broken glass. Many children use the play areas as well as the basketball court in the center. The children are poorly dressed and, for the most part are white. They are noisy and use foul language not only to each other but to the adults as well. Around the court, separating it from the driveway, is a fence in which huge holes have been gorged by a car or truck. Six men are working with shovels in this

area; one shovels while another talks with him, the remaining four lean on their shovels talking to each other in the midst of the ground glass and litter.

In no other project are the various areas within the project so different in terms of cleanliness, landscaping and grass as well as the surrounding area. Although the project as a whole is settled into a very shabby, commercial district, without any trees and signs of residential life, the rear of the project, on B Street, is in far worse condition that the front of the project (D Street) or on the side (West Broadway). The rear of the project is unhabitable: broken windows, broken glass, dirt, stench, vandalism and general filth proliferate. The apartments in this part of the project appear to be very drab from the outside; many of the windows are covered with brown paper. At first, it appears that these units are either vacant or unsuitable for tenants, but there are signs of life: a heavy woman dressed in a blue housecoat with bare feet stands in the entranceway of one of these buildings; laundry hangs on a clothes line; children play at the side of a building; a man can be seen in one of the apartments because all the windows have been broken. Litter, as well as glass, abound. This rear section is in such poor condition that it assaults one's sensitivities when coming upon it, especially after the relatively clean conditions near the front. The people in the rear are noticeably poorer than their counterparts in other sections of the project. Although West Broadway and D Streets afford only dirt and noise for the tenants living on those sides of the project, they are certainly cleaner than this rancid alleyway, and the storefronts are much better companions than empty lots and junk yards.

West Broadway is located closer to Boston and the warehouse districts of South Boston than either of the other two South Boston projects. The residential structures bordering the project on B and D Streets are generally in such poor condition that many of them are either in the process of deterioration or demolition.

Condemned buildings, in addition to some vacant lots and shabby multi-unit apartment dwellings, border the side of B Street opposite the project. Some of the abandoned cars along this street have flat tires and wrecked bodies. Along D Street, however, a number of small retail stores can be found. These stores are invariably located on the first floor of three-story frame apartment houses; the uper stories appear to be inhabited. The buildings are close together and are in much better condition than those along B Street.

The third project boundary is West Seventh Street along which are frame apartment dwellings in somewhat better shape than those on D Street. The remaining boundary, West Broadway, is the principle shopping area for Southie. Even though the shops are old and decaying, and some have been boarded up, they are in better condition than those on B Street. Moreover, it does not appear that people live in the upper floors. This is perhaps the busiest street in South Boston, full of shoppers and trucks and cars moving to and from Boston. On the project side of West Broadway, the sidewalk merely extends into the project, a place where people live. Heavy traffic, mostly trucks, rumble along three of the streets that circle the project, B and D Streets and West Broadway.

The West Broadway area is perhaps the clearest example of the residential disintegration that flows in the wake of commercial and industrial presence. It is now a decaying vestige of what was once a cohesive, residential neighborhood. Some of the two or three story frame dwellings have been repaired and painted recently; however, the heavy commercial and industrial areas within a few blocks of the project are closing in quickly. The many vacant and dilapidated houses are perhaps interstitial evidence of this encroachment. The business and factories that have displaced the former neighborhood do not permit or encourage people to venture beyond their own dwellings. And the large, heavily-travelled streets provide an artificial boundary that separates the project from whatever community might still exist on the other side. Perhaps the elementary school located within the project serves as a meeting ground with children from the surrounding area; but it is likely that only children from the project play or attend there. Portable classrooms located near the school building add to the impression of residential impermanence.

WEST BROADWAY:

THE PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

During the past twenty years, no other part of South Boston has stagnated and decayed as much as the area adjacent to the project. Before the war, this was a Lithuanean and Polish neighborhood. It was a relatively-attractive lower middle-class residential area. The project displaced this mixed ethnic neighborhood, dispersing its residents. The matrix of the neighborhood had been St. Peter's church. The project was built around the church, displacing the former congregation. Most of the former residents had to move as many as ten and fifteen blocks away. Understandably, these people felt that the project was a foreign intrusion and thus harbored bitter feelings toward the project.

Since its completion in 1949, West Broadway, and its surrounding area, began a steady decline in physical condition. Census tract data for 1950 demonstrates the immediate impact of the project on this area. Although population quite expectadly increased with the introduction of the project, the character of the influx population is most revealing. (Certainly the 1950 census came too soon after the introduction of the project to effect the statistics in any census tract except M-3, the one in which the project is situated.)

Between 1940 and 1950, the number of professional and managerial residents in M-3 tripled; no other neighboring area demonstrated such impressive gains. In addition, median income for tract M-3, low in 1940, was the highest in the area by 1950. Substantial

increases in the number of high school and college graduates (M-3, in 1950, lead in proportions of both) were also recorded between 1940 and 1950. However, this surge proved to be ephemeral.

For a comparison between the West Broadway area in 1950 and 1960 reveals an abrupt change in its development. Certainly this area, like others in South Boston, has been affected by pervasive economic problems. But the results of the 1960 census, with particular regard to tract M-3, containing only the project, are too striking to be dismissed as part of a general trend. The sweeping changes ushered in by the completion of the project have been reversed and now are trends, not of improvement, but of decline.

During the years between 1940 and 1950, the proportions of men and women in the D Street area (M-3) remained constant; a few more men than women. While this trend continues in 1960 for the neighboring areas, in tract M-3 the number of women remained constant (contrary to other census tracts); but the number of men declined by almost 400. During the decade between 1950 and 1960, M-3 was the only census tract in the area that showed any increase in the number of children (from ages five to nineteen); and this increase involved a doubling of the former number. These statistics suggest, and recent Housing Authority data[1] confirms, that in M-3 there are now many women alone with minor children, often on AFDC. Census tract M-3 also reflects an increase in the number of widowed and divorced women. Clearly, the disproportionate number of children, coupled with the conspicuous absence of adult males, tends to create an

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1. See interview data for the number of AFDC recipients, children and one-adult families.

environment filled with noise generated by unsupervised activity. This is especially true, as it is in West Broadway, when no facilities or organized activity is available. Vandalism becomes their handmaiden. The attendant turmoil and fear saps whatever strengths may inhere in this community.

Thus, while the adjacent tracts (M-1, M-2, M-4 and O-3) also suffer a decline in populations, the number of persons in the labor force, and the number of high school and college graduates, the shift has been more gradual than in tract M-3 where the trend has been drastic.

If Sweetser's analysis of housing quality[2] and social rank[3] in South Boston is compared with other social and demographic data, in each case tract M-3 received the highest rating in the general West Broadway area. To say, then, that West Broadway is a decaying area, physically and socially, necessitates further examination in light of other data.

To evaluate housing census data is to become aware of South Boston's most critical problem. What housing has not been demolished because of delapidation is in a deteriorating and often

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2. Housing M-1, 93.4; M-2, 97.2; (M-3, 0.6) M-4, 94.5; O-3, 86.1

3. Soc. rank M-1, 43; M-2, 34; (M-3, 54) M-4, 39; O-3, 42

dilapidated state.[4] When compared with all other bordering census tracts, M-3 appears to be an area of fine, solid housing. In adjacent areas, there has been; first, a decline in the total number of units and, secondly, an increase in the proportion of deteriorating and dilapidated dwellings. This information dramatically supports on-sight observations and other area statistics. This is an unusual area where public housing units are far superior to many private residences. In the project, at least, one can expect adequate toilet and bathing facilities and a sufficient water supply. Even though the housing quality index can be supported by independent information and observation, the social rank index should be subjected to close analyses.

The first question arises almost instinctively: How can an area suffering from economic depression where the working population is decreasing, and where educational levels are low, warrant a comparatively favorable index of social status? The initial response is that while M-3 received a more favorable evaluation, all indexes for the West Broadway area were low.[5] Since social rank is a composite,

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4.

1950	M-1	M-2	M-3	M-4	O-3
Units	683	915	968	438	1142
Dilap. or no priv. bath	477	614	1	361	328
Dilap. or no running water	202	273	1	210	52
1960					
Units	489	794	964	303	1095
Deter.	370	391	2	143	176
Dilap.	27	351	0	148	72

5. Compare this evaluation with the one for the Old Colony and Mary Ellen McCormack areas.

one must turn to the underlying raw data as well as to the measurements of median income, the number of families with an income under $3000, and the potential labor force.

From 1950 to 1960, median income, one characteristic which mirrors social change, has increased in M-3 and all other tracts in the area. Gains recorded in M-3, however, are not proportionally equal to gains measured in all other tracts; and much of this gain is primarily attributable to inflation. Families in the West Broadway project with incomes of less than $3000 are declining; yet, in 1960, a significant number remains (26.3%). Recent Housing Authority data indicates an increase in families dependent on public assistance or benefits. Of the 923 families in the project, 246 receive AFDC, 121 depend upon Old Age Assistance and 240 receive Social Security benefits. The low proportion of persons in the labor force (21%)[6] add to the general social decline in the West Broadway area. Unfortunately, Housing Authority data does not include the areas neighboring West Broadway, and census material is too old to be reliable. If Housing Authority measurements in the project are symptomatic of social and economic decline in the project area, the rate of deterioration has, in the years since the 1960 census, exceeded estimates based upon prior trends.[7]

Having evaluated the socio-economic trends in the West Broadway area, it is possible to allocate more accurately the responsibility

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6. By way of contrast, the rate of unemployment in M-3 was 3.1%. This apparent disparity results from the disproportionate number of women and children in West Broadway.

7. Housing Authority data was based upon a survey undertaken in 1968. Indexes of employment and percentage of the population in the labor force are, however, based upon 1960 census information; and are, thus, very possibly out of date.

for the general decline. Clearly, continued commercial and industrial acquisition of property in an area signals the end of its residential character. The more immediate the threat of industrial presence, the more earnestly will residents seek housing elsewhere. Those who remain generally do so because they cannot afford to leave. To fill the void, those of lesser financial circumstances, needing cheap shelter, rush in. The housing deterioration is accelerated by the underlying poverty, "softening" the area for industrial encroachment and demolition. More importantly, the impaired spirit of the people, already undermined by their poverty, is further weakened by the decaying environment.

Whether the decline in this area was brought about by the introduction of the project,or whether it resulted from other factors that occurred contemporaneously with it,cannot be determined with certainty. One cannot gainsay the public's negative perceptions of public housing, nor the concommitant fear that its presence will depress an area. Nor can it be denied that industrial and commercial expansion into an otherwise residential area reduces the quality of housing and the socio-economic level of the residents. Hence, the continuous encroachment of factories and light industry, moving ineluctably on the South and West perimeters from the South Bay and Fort Point Channel toward Old Colony Avenue and Dorchester Streets, would eventually have swept over the area, working its destructive effects. What part the introduction of the project has played in accelerating this process of residential disintegration can only be conjecture. Truely, the presence of the project might have had a mitigating effect had the Housing Authority, through neglect of

the physical plant and tenant population, not abandoned it like a carcus to rot in an industrial wasteland. But, can it really be argued that the absence of the project or the mere presence of privately owned dwellings could have halted the encroachment of industry or have prevailed a more effective "anchor" for the area?

Old Colony and Mary Ellen McCormack did not, by their presence, have a pernicious effect on their respective neighborhoods. In fact, they appear to have served as barriers to deterioration and decay. Perhaps this offers a clue to understanding the relationship between West Broadway and its surrounding area: the project and industry, together, have negatively reinforced each other. In unintentional concert, they may have created an unsatisfactory and unstable environment within which the roots of decay have taken nourishment and have prospered. This explanation does not afford a clear causal connection, but it is certainly more satisfying than arbitrarily assessing responsibility; or, what is worse, not making the effort.

WEST BROADWAY:

TENANT ATTITUDES

West Broadway is typically characterized by its tenants as the "worst" project in South Boston. To understand some of the factors that underly this attitude, it is useful to compare this project with Mary Ellen McCormack.

Broadway has 3350 residents living on 26.8 acres (126 people per acre and 567 people per acre covered), while Mary Ellen McCormack has 1000 fewer residents living on 27.9 acreas (eighty-nine people per acre and 339 people per acre covered). Broadway is, therefore, considerably more congested, even though Mary Ellen McCormack has sixty more families. The important factor is that 38% of the Mary Ellen McCormack population are minors, whereas in Broadway they represent 58%.
Thus, West Broadway has a higher population density, more of which is comprised of children. The families in Mary Ellen McCormack are typically older, with few, if any, children and enjoy a higher socio-economic status as opposed to those in Broadway who are often afflicted with social and financial problems. Furthermore, one-quarter of the families in Broadway, as opposed to 13% in Mary Ellen McCormack, are one-adult families with minor children. (Also a proportionately higher number of AFDC cases.)

Hence, West Broadway has less space, more children and fewer adult figures to control or supervise them. Add to this compound a significantly higher racial mix (Broadway, 12%; McCormack, 4%) and a shabby, commercial environment, and the expected social chemistry should not be surprising.

The overwhelming majority of the project's residents derive from Massachusetts, although a sizeable portion are foreign-born, most often from Ireland. Reflecting change in the composition of the project is the substantial number of residents who have lived there for less than a year (38%) as compared with those who have lived here for more than three years (29%) or between one and three years (33%). Many tenants indicate that they expect to remain in the project longer than a year (31%) and a smaller but sizeable proportion plan to stay more than five years (21%). Few intend to live in West Broadway less than six months (2%); yet, there are a number (26%) who expect to leave in less than a year. Few of these tenants lived in their own homes prior to residing in the project (5%). Most lived in private apartments (74%) and a significant number (21%) came from public housing elsewhere in the city.

Tenants view themselves and their neighbors as sharing the same social status. Overwhelmingly, they revealed that they and others in the project are in the working class (48%, self; 43%, neighbors); and did not, unexpectedly, perceive themselves or their neighbors as being in the lower class (17%, self; 14%, neighbors). Other studies have shown that people do not readily label themselves lower class.

Project interaction is, for many reasons, very limited. Tenants respond that if they have friends (55%), these people are not in the project, and that they saw the people infrequently (only 33% more than once a week). Substantial numbers of tenants revealed that had made friends either in the building (29%) or in

the project (31%) as opposed to having known these people prior to moving in (10%). Often, these friendships are prompted by chance meetings in the drying yards.

Few tenants have become friendly with people near the project (21%). The proportion of residents who retain friendships in their old neighborhoods is significant in terms of project solidarity. As in all other projects, the tenants at West Broadway find it easy to make friends (74%) and equally as easy to make friends in the project (71%). Borrowing, although it occurs in a significant number of households (55%), is not a frequent event (5% often; 26% occasionally; 17% seldom).

Most tenants feel safe (60%). However, 64% acknowledge that there is trouble in the project. Some of those who feel safe say that they live in a safe part of the project or that they had nothing that could be taken. Many speak of the need for more police protection. Other tenants, or their children, were seen as the primary cause of this "trouble"; although outsiders were also viewed as a contributing factor. (Given the disproportionate number of fatherless families and the great number of minors, this disclosure is not suprising.)

As mentioned above, tenants do not interact socially on a regular or continuous basis within the project; and their activities outside the project are generally limited to visits with friends and relatives (71% have relatives in the area and 60% see them more than once a week). In addition, membership in organizations outside West Broadway, or the desire to join them, is not strong (24% belong and only 17% of those who do not have any desire).

The most significant maintenance problem plaguing the residents of West Broadway is plumbing (64%). Yet with respect to every other possible complaint (except locks, 10%), the response is over 30% with only 19% indicating that they had no problems. Roaches and rats are also often mentioned as a prevalent problem. Several tenants expressed exasperation with the manager in connection with these problems, "Extermination doesn't work," "It is something you call the Board of Health about."

Other complaints about maintenance are legion. In emergencies, the service is fast, but, at other times, may take months. This suggests that the physical and structural conditions of the grounds may be in no small way attributable to managerial laxity or inaction and not tenant irresponsibility.

The tenants generally rely upon the manager for repairs (71%), only 12% making the repairs themselves. Inspection by management is rare (27%), and usually only after a week has passed. The management eventually does make most needed repairs; but, again, more than a week passes before they are completed (10% immediately; 26% within a week; 17% within a month; 17% longer than a month). It is not uncommon to hear a tenant say that the "manager treats everyone like dirt," or "the manager always claims he has an overload of complaints." Yet, most West Broadway residents believe that service would not be better in a private apartment (55%). The tenants feel that repairs, when made, are generally sufficient (57%); when they are not, few tenants will do anything further (17%). As in many other projects, few tenants felt that anyone obtained better service from the manager (10%).

The tenants experience problems with management in other areas as well. Most prominent among these problems are unclean and dark halls (62%); continuous noise (50%); and poor garbage collection and burning (19%). Of those who did anything about these problems (24%), 14% felt that their action helped. In most instances, the problem remains uncorrected (41%). Therefore, rather than contact the manager, tenants often contact a priest, the police or the Board of Health when a problem becomes severe.

Admission to the project appears to take less than six months (83%). Possibly, the undesirable reputation of the project is the reason. As is customary, many were not kept informed of their place on the waiting list (45%).

Most tenants do not disapprove of the regulations (71%), and feel in equal proportions (36% each) that the rules are made by the manager and by the Housing Authority. In terms of a change in regulations, more felt it was the duty of the BHA (26%) than of the manager (17%).

Few have ever been threatened with eviction (14%); and, of those who were, 2% called the Housing Authority (19% took another course of action). If threatened with eviction, some would move out (7%), many would call the Housing Authority (21%), an equal number would call city hall or a politician (19%), and 21% are undecided. Some tenants had heard of evictions (26%) and believed that the cause was non-payment of rent (12%) or breaking the regulations (7%). Most tenants believe that most evictions arise out of either of these two problems (88% and 67%, respectively). Unlike many tenants in other projects, these tenants do not feel that "trouble" with neighbors is a cause for eviction.

Many residents in West Broadway feel that a tenants' council would make a valuable contribution: 40% would attend if the council were empowered to pass on admissions, and 57% would attend if the council could change the rules. The remainder indicated that such participation in a tenant's group would be wasted effort. Some are too busy (7%) to attend a meeting of the D Street Residents Committee; whereas others are not interested (12%), and still others feel that the Tenants' Council does nothing (15%). Most tenants (69%), however, had never ever heard of the group; of those who had, only some thought the group discussed important problems in the project (24%) and living areas.

It is not surprising, then, that few tenants would aid friends (26%) or relatives to move into the project; or that almost half (45%) intensely dislike public housing.

The comment reported at the beginning of this discussion (that tenants view West Broadway as the worst project in South Boston) is supported by the preceding data. Physically, West Broadway suffers from years of neglect and from the constant harrassment of vandals. Deterioration, in addition, has reached the minds and spirits of the tenants. This feeling is reflected in their attitudes of resignation and helplessness. Many tenants feel, as one interviewee stated: "It's all right, a necessity. We can't afford to pay for any other." In contrast, some tenants revealed that this economic convenience was coupled with a feeling of impotence in the face of economic pressures that confront them in the "outside world": As one tenant noted,"I like not having responsibility. Some people really need it."

One recurring problem for many tenants when asked about life in the project is the number of teenagers who roam the project's walks. One interviewee feels that the general problem is the children who steal checks from the mail. He concludes, however, "You can't do anything about that." The elderly not only complain about the noise, but also express a sense of fear. Vandalism, its toll taken most heavily on the project windows, and the accompanying fear of physical violence, permeate the project.

As is found in Mary Ellen McCormack, the tenants are conscious of an attempt by the BHA to integrate the project. Integration is viewed as an indication that the project is "getting worse." The tenants who have lived in the project for a number of years remember the times when the project used to be "good," and feel that the perspective for the project is one of constant decline, now that "colored people are moving in."

Economic deprivation, racial conflict and an unsuitable physical environment have brought West Broadway to a state of both physical and social deterioration. Acting in concert with the encroaching industrialization of the surrounding community, these factors have created an uncomfortable, and often hostile, environment. Adolescent frustrations, due to the absence of adult, male supervision, are aggravated, causing further dislocations in the community. Traditionally, white, South Boston and in particular West Broadway, has witnessed a gradual influx of blacks and Puerto Ricans. This influx, undesired by the white tenants who are otherwise plagued with economic problems, has generated additional

frustrations and tensions. These factors, taken together, prompt the tenants to withdraw, further isolating themselves from their neighbors and the surrounding environment.

OLD COLONY:

THE PROJECT

Architecturally, the project evolves naturally from the area in which it is located. It rises in a neighborhood of other low buildings without intruding its presence. Except for the thoroughfares surrounding the project, there are no strong barriers between the project and its surrounding area. Consequently, as one walks through the area, it is easy to find oneself in the project without realizing it.

Inside the project one finds a world quite different from the one experienced outside. The traffic and busy quality of the outside streets, compared with the relative quiet and secluded atmosphere of the project, make one feel contained. This, perhaps, reflects an era when the designers attempted to protect the poor from the harful influences of their environment.

Old Colony consists of approximately four square blocks of three-story red-brick buildings. These buildings are in good condition in terms of the brick and materials used to construct them. However, the wooden moldings that rim the eight-paned windows are in various states of disrepair; some cracking while others are unpainted and rotting. Although the buildings vary in length, all are constructed in fortress-like shapes, two buildings having common, inner courtyards that are used primarily for recreation and drying areas. The inner yard is accessible only through the rear doors of either building or by a small archway that leads into the court yard from the street. The over-all shape of the project is a triangle that

has its longest side on Old Colony Avenue, its two slanted sides on Dorchester and Columbia Road and a blunted third point facing toward Telegraph Hill, a higher income area.

Litter and broken glass are evident everywhere in the project. as well as in the neighborhood surrounding it. Much of the glass on the project's walks and court yards is of a smooth texture, indicating it has been there for a long time. The incinerator areas in the courtyards are surrounded by garbage that has been placed outside rather than inside the incinerator and ignited. The play areas are black-topped but are topped again in broken glass and debris. The only evidence of an effort to keep the grass and shrubs in good condition and the area free of litter may be found at the center of the project where the management office and the public school are located. In this area, the pavement is cleanly swept.

The entrance ways of the buildings are usually dark and often smell of urine. Many bulbs are broken or missing from the ceiling light fixtures so that when the door is shut, the hallway is pitch black. Words and pictures have been scrawled on the walls, and discarded belongings adorn the foot of the basement stairs. The entrance doors, slabs of painted metal, are marred and defaced.

There are many school-age children in the street, even during school hours. They are clean and neatly dressed and play in the street almost without exception. There are few pre-schoolers visible, however. Older people are also present, although fewer in number than the children. They are also dressed in clean, neat clothes; many of the women are wearing heels and dresses.

There seems to be a discrepancy between the neat, well-dressed appearance of the people on the streets and the condition

of the buildings and grounds. They seem incongruous with their environment. It is hard to imagine these people throwing trash onto the grounds or smashing bottles on the sidewalk.

Old Colony is situated at the base of Telegraph Hill, a beautiful residential area. The principle boundaries of the project are Old Colony Avenue on the front, Columbia Road on the ocean side, and Dorchester Street on the west side. Along Dorchester Street, there are many small, retail stores, including bars and package stores as well as two schools and numerous two and three story frame homes. It is wide and carries heavy traffic. Old Colony is also a busy street, but is lined primarily with gas stations and sandwich shops. Columbia Road, a broad, divided street, also carries heavy traffic but only during rush hours. On the other side of Columbia Road is an enormous park that borders the ocean. Behind the project, on East Eighth Street, there are a few retail stores, but this area consists mainly of three-story, wood frame apartment houses. They are, for the most part, in better repair than the project.

Most of the heavy traffic around the project travels on Old Colony Avenue and Dorchester Street; trucks and automobiles move along these wide streets to and from the factories and warehouses nearby. These busy streets, however, do not appear to prevent movement by residents to and from the shopping areas on Dorchester Street and Old Colony Avenue or the beach and parks on the other side of Columbia Road. These fields are far enough from the project so that any noise that emanates from them cannot be heard in the project. At a point further along Columbia Road, toward Castle Island, the field ends at a public beach.

It is unlikely, however, that much interaction occurs between the project and the residential neighborhood behind it. Moving down the hill, the social and economic level declines correspondingly, reaching its lowest point just before the project.

OLD COLONY:

THE PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

Since the Second World War, South Boston, like many other areas of Boston, has seen its community and neighborhoods deteriorate. Many of the old immigrants are dead, and their children and grandchildren no longer harbor the same emotional bonds with the area. They anticipate a better and more prosperous existence, possibly in a suburban community. Of those who remain (expecially in the projects), many would leave South Boston if they had the financial resources. Of those who have supplanted the old guard, or are its progeny, how many represent the strength or spirit of the old South Boston?

Many "outsiders" have become part of the community in the sense that they are present, but not by virtue of any relationships with the established residents. These "outsiders" are blacks, Puerto Ricans, and others not formerly associated with South Boston or not of Irish-American extraction.

Old Colony, like the neighboring Telegraph Hill area represents the traditional strengths and community solidarity that have been characteristic of South Boston since the Civil War. Tenants in Old Colony maintain the social patterns and attitudes of their ancestors; however, they maintain community ties primarily within the project--their only neighborhood. They seldom venture from this restricted area, moving outside its bounds only to complete small shopping trips to stores on West Broadway or to make social visits to old friends in Mary Ellen McCormack, adjacent to Old Colony.

Although physical boundaries contribute to this limited community, the constraints that maintain the insularity are developed and perpetuated from within. The people, not the surrounding geography, determine the scope of the neighborhood. In Old Colony, this insularity is fostered by internal fixtures around which a community develops and sustains itself: a branch of the city library, the project's weekly newspaper (called a gossip sheet), open courtyards, and the elementary school.

The neighborhood immediately bordering the project along Eighth Street represents the same range of individual and community attitudes that are expressed in the project. (This should not be confused with Telegraph Hill, whose residents are of a higher socio-economic status and do not interact with the project tenants.) Although the structures in the area contrast sharply with the project buildings, this contrast is not as marked between the people. They, too, are lower middle-income families who have similar jobs, and who suffer from certain of the same social and financial deprivations as the project tenants. This demographic similarity can be substantiated by ecological standards. The project (tract 0-2) and its neighborhood reflect similar demographic changes throughout the two decades, 1940 to 1960, suggesting that the same factors may have impacted on both to the same effect.

Population throughout the city of Boston has declined during the two past decades, and South Boston is no exception. From 1940 to 1950, a sharp increase in population occurred in census tract 0-2 because of the introduction of Old Colony in 1940. All other neighboring areas manifested negative change, and between

1950 and 1960 even the O-2 tract showed this trend. And the number of children (from ages five to nineteen) showed the most striking decrease in the project area and the surrounding neighborhoods. The number of single persons also manifest significant negative change. However, when the number of married persons declined in every neighboring area, the number increased in tract O-2. The same general trend was recorded for the number of widowed or divorced persons living in South Boston. And the number of non-whites, always minimal, remained so in 1960 (two). Since that time, the Housing Authority has moved twenty black families into Old Colony.

Educational differences in the population as a whole are not significant except to the extent that they further substantiate the decline in social rank of the population. Tract O-2, unlike any of the adjoining tracts, shows a definite increase in the number of high school and college graduates and a corresponding decrease in the number of adults completing only elementary school. Since this is a factor in defining social rank, there should be a general improvement in the status of residents in the O-2 area. Income and labor statistics seem to belie the above data. In 1940 the ratio of those in the labor force to those not in the labor force was nearly the same for all census areas near Old Colony. By 1950, however, the Old Colony area was the worst in this regard and continues to be so today while neighboring areas show increases in the number employed. By contrast, tract O-2 had the lowest unemployment rate (3.5%) in the area as of 1960. Furthermore, because the above ratio includes mothers and children in the category "not in the labor force," the impact of this index is misleading.

Median income, as further evidence of social status, suggests that the O-2 area is falling behind other tracts in this area. In 1950, the median income of O-2 was $3,027, the highest in the area. Today, at $3,859, it is one of the lowest. Also, the number of families with incomes under $3,000 has decreased everywhere with the same rapidity--in 1960 tract O-2 recorded only 197 families in that category. That almost two-thirds of those employed in tract O-2 have blue collar jobs necessarily implies lower income levels. In addition, the presence in Old Colony of many elderly, single women and one-adult families with minors, all of whom are financially dependent, is reflected in the area's low median income.

Social rank, as employed by Sweetser, compares the census areas according to the Shevky-Bell index. This index is composed of the proportion of all workers in blue collar jobs and the proportion of adults who have completed no more than eighth grade. Tracts O-1, O-2 and P-1A have indexes of 51, 51 and 50 respectively. Tracts O-3, to the north (separating Old Colony from the West Broadway project), received an index of 40, and M-2 to the northwest was listed at 34. Thus, while no tract in the Old Colony area received an index suggesting high social status, the O-2 tract received the highest rating. It would seem, then, that this area immediately adjacent to and including, the project has a higher standard of social quality than its neighboring areas. If there is an influence for a negative change in the area, it emanates from the areas external to the project. It is possible to surmise that the project had no negative effect on the neighborhood, that the area was losing status before the project was intro-

duced. However, the reverse conclusion is also possible: that the project has so aggravated a deteriorating condition as to effectively destroy it. The 1950 and 1960 housing census show that people are not leaving this area because of inadequate or deteriorating housing. In fact, this data indicates that fewer buildings in 1960 were deteriorating (55) or dilapidated (23) than in the previous decade (159). Also, these deteriorating or dilapidated units are not in the project but are in the areas bordering Old Colony on Eighth Street and toward Telegraph Hill. Another indicator of housing conditions, the number of occupied dwelling units, shows a slight decrease, although the actual number of units has increased.

Housing statistics do reveal that the area surrounding the project is deteriorating. Housing quality, an index of change in housing conditions, indicates trends within an area. Either construction of new facilities or deterioration of existing structures alters the "housing conditions" and will result in a high index. That the Old Colony area has a low index, 56.4, suggests that only moderate changes have occurred between 1950 and 1960. In all adjacent census tract areas, the index of housing quality was substantially higher than in O-2 (M-2, 97.2; O-3, 86.1; P-1, 83.2; O-1, 79.8). Thus, not only is the project one of the newest structures in the area, it is also the most habitable.

Although statistics and field observations may be misleading when viewed separately, there can be no quarrel with their cumulative findings. The Old Colony area, like all of South Boston, is deteriorating. All available evaluations reveal that long-time residents, the sturdy, immigrant Irish have either died or have abondoned the area. In their place have moved, in an incessant

trickle, the poor, the harbingers of social and economic decline, who are forced to move from one doomed area to the next. The projects have absorbed many of these poor, but these immigrants have also begun moving into the residential areas vacated by long-time South Bostonians. Old Colony, unlike West Broadway and other projects in, for example, Roxbury, or the South End, is not viewed as a haven for the socially and economically destitute. And while it may not be a distinction to live in Old Colony (as it is for many in Mary Ellen McCormack) neither is it a mark of social unacceptability. Those who do not leave are the remaining immigrant stock, but most often, those who cannot afford to leave.

When first completed, Old Colony and Old Harbor Village (renamed Mary Ellen McCormack) were prize units, eagerly sought by South Boston residents. Although they retain much of this former drawing power, they, like South Boston itself, are witnessing the steady influx of outsiders. It is doubtful that these outsiders travel with doom on their shoulders, for the area had been deteriorating long before they arrived.

Industries and commercial establishments have also moved in to fill the void left by death and migration. They too forecast the pall which is slowly settling over a once vibrant and cohesive community.

Whether the projects, the outsiders or industry is reponsible for the decline of South Boston can be debated without solution for years. One thing is certain, however: alone the projects did not cause such wholesale deterioration of the community. On the

contrary, they have served for years (especially Old Colony and Mary Ellen McCormack) as barriers against decline, keeping at least a segment of the community intact.

OLD COLONY:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Old Colony tenants are predominately long-time South Bostonians: white, Irish and generally elderly. However, the recent influx of non-South Bostonians, principally families from ghetto areas or other sections of the city where housing is inadequate, has slightly shifted the balance of the project's population. Only twenty non-white families (of 856 total) reside in Old Colony, though these families account for 4% of the population (total population being 2486).

Presently, more than half of the families in Old Colony (442) have no children. However, in the remaining families there are enough minors to equalize the proportion of adults (1245) and children (1241) in the project. This equalization has also been the result of an influx of one-adult families with minors who now comprise one-fifth of the Old Colony families. While white minors represent less than half the total of the white population, non-white children account for two-thirds of the black population.

Because there are a substantial number of elderly and many one-adult families residing in Old Colony, the proportion of tenants receiving financial assistance is high. Interestingly, of the many OAA (108) and Social Security (297) recipients in Old Colony, only one non-white individual receives either. However, in terms of AFDC, the proportion of non-white families receiving this grant by far exceeds the proportion of white families (50% to 13%).

Of those interviewed, many are married (57%), but a large number are separated, divorced or widowed (40%); few are single (39%). Age patterns suggest that the tenants are not young families but older, single persons or couples. Nearly half (40%) are 60 years of age or older, whereas only 30% are under the age of 30. With regard to other age groups, 11% are between thirty and forty, and 21% are between 40 and 60 years of age. Many (37%) of the tenants have completed the eighth grade, and an equal number continued through high school; a smaller number (17%) have completed only sixth grade. Most tenants were raised in the city (83%) and lived somewhere in Massachusetts (typically Boston) before coming to the project (80%). Very few are immigrants (10%) or are from the South (10%).

Prior to moving into the project, most tenants either owned their own homes (46%) or lived in a private apartment (46%); few had lived in public housing. Once in the project, however, these people tend to remain, creating a stable, if not permanent, society. In the past, it was not uncommon for children to "inherit" an apartment from their parents. This tendency has begun to wane. Few tenants have resided in the project for less than a year; many (51%) have been there for more than three years, and almost half have been in residence from one to three years. However, this change will not accelerate quickly since the overwhelming majority of tenants (77%) intend to remain in Old Colony for more than five years. The others (23%), expect to be in residence no longer than one year; the "transients" therefore do not yet characterize the project.

In evaluating their social status, tenants generally describe their position as middle class (69%). Several tenants view themselves as working class (26%), but only a small proportion indicate lower class (6%). The tenants almost invariably see their neighbors as having the same social class status. With regard to social mobility, the majority (74%) of the tenants believe that their social rank will not change; this perhaps reflects the number who are aged or who do not anticipate movement into the upper class, but as many as 20% of the 26% who designated themselves as lower class expect to become middle class. It might be argued that this anticipated mobility is a function of the middle class orientations and motivations of the project. The middle class majority may provide a socially higher model for the others to emulate.

Two-thirds responded that they had friends who lived in the building or in the project; however, many tenants have friends either in another project or in private housing. This latter tendency is consistent with the finding that many tenants had lived in the greater Boston area before moving into the project. These tenants (60%) visited with their friends more often than once a week. Twice as many had met their friends in the project after they had moved in. In general, tenants in Old Colony are sociable and out-going, generally finding it easy to make friends (93%). Thus, it is not surprising that most people (86%) responded that they have no difficulty making friends in the project; nor that most tenants (79%) have a favorable opinion of their neighbors in the project. But these tenants manifest a highly

protective and guarded attitude: "don't get involved;" "trying to ease off;" "people borrow money;" "we just say hello;" "have to watch what you say;" "they want to know your business." Borrowing is not pervasive (25%). Its absence may indicate a higher level of affluence.

Over half the tenants expressed no opinion of their neighbors outside the project, while 39% held favorable opinions. Yet, friendships with people living near the project is insignificant (3%). The nearest neighbors live across the street in Mary Ellen McCormack project. Sixty-nine per cent of the Old Colony tenants did not know what their neighbors think of them, and they adamantly state that they do not care. This defensiveness may be generated in no small way by Mary Ellen McCormack's reputation as the best project in the city. This reputation is a matter of concern to many of the tenants who express an awareness that Mary Ellen McCormack has a "better class of people." Since many of these tenants are long-standing South Boston residents with ties in their old community, they cling tenaciously to their middle class self-image and "good name". This sentiment can also be seen in the widely-held strong identity with a particular building and the attendent claim that it is universally recognized as a model of tenant interaction and good tenant-management relations. The intense pride and insularity which this suggests is reminiscent of the "Southie" credo that has been echoed through the corridors of South Boston since the first wave of Irish immigrants came to Boston.

Few tenants (14%) leave the project to participate in organizations outside the project community. Moreover, there is only an additional 11% who would do so even if an opportunity presented itself. Visiting relatives in the area is often cited as the main reason for leaving the project area. These ties cannot help but reinforce attitudes and life-styles of the old neighborhood--the "old Southie." Most residents (12%) of Old Colony have relatives in the area, and (63%) manage to see them more than once a week. For the older people, these persons are children or extended kin who also live in South Boston. The tenants spend most of their time, however, with their spouses (34%) and their children (43%); the reaction to their children is mixed, an equal number indicating that their children are of satisfaction or grief.

Except for plumbing (60%), (Old Colony was built in 1940), complaints about maintenance are "normal": windows (34%); paint (17%); plaster (9%); electric (9%); locks (6%); appliances (3%). In fact, as many as 29% indicate they have no problems. Most of those who have problems (69%), first call the manager, who, almost without exception, inspects the problem immediately (57%) or within a week (23%). In terms of the manager's action to correct the problems, similar proportions were noted. Repairs are generally sufficient (80%) and the tenants feel that no other residents receive better service from the management (89%). Only 37% believe service in a private dwelling would be better. In some instances, the tenants reported that it is very difficult to get some things fixed; some tenants indicate that

they must go "over the head" of the manager. Two tenants state that the manager treats them as if they are not worth helping.

Other problems are generally not considered to be significant. As in any project, tenants are furious at one another for not taking better care of the hallways when it is their assigned turn (43%). The consensus here, as in most projects, is that the manager should either enforce the regulations or clean the halls himself. Cleanliness of the sidewalks and grass (26%), lack of recreation facilities (23%) and excessive noise (17%) were noted by the tenants as bothersome. For the most part, tenants did nothing to alter these conditions (40%), and those who took action (23%) were not rewarded for their efforts.

Only a moderate concern for safety is expressed (12%); most (83%) feel reasonably safe, and see little "trouble" in the project. Those who do see trouble believe it is caused mainly by tenants and not outsiders. It should be noted that many respondents are elderly; despite an awareness of trouble, they are unafraid because; "I never leave my apartment," or "I never go into the project at night." (An old woman does not leave her apartment because she fears that delinquents will come in and steal her belongings.) Moreover, a feeling of safety in Old Colony may be dependent on the tenant's location in the building and in the project ("I'm so glad I live on the third floor and not the first.").

The waiting period for admission was short for Old Colony residents: 77% were admitted within six months, although even these people were not kept informed by the Authority as to when they could expect admission (71%).

A number of tenants indicated that they were admitted through a political contact. They accept this strategy as necessary but deplorable. Regulations do not prove to be troublesome for the tenants, and most do not disapprove of them (77%). The most troublesome regulations involve the prohibition against pets, the requirement that tenants maintain the hallways (tenants complain that other tenants do not do their share), and the income limitations. With regard to income limitations, many tenants express resentment that others are over income; or that an increase in income will inevitably result in a rent increase, thereby depriving them of the benefit of this additional income. Tenants are generally divided, however, on the question of whether the manager or the Authority has the power to make or change the rules. This ignorance is surprising in light of the strong political orientation in South Boston. A minority feel that a flat rental is advisable. This view is consistent with the notion that each family should pay its "own way". It may also reflect a fear that if it were otherwise, the "good" families would have to support those on welfare by paying generally higher rents.

A threat of eviction is not a problem for residents of Old Colony, for few have ever been faced with it (14%). If they were threatened, however, most (63%) tenants say that they would contact the Authority first, while a small number would resort to contacting a politician; even fewer (6%) would just move out. Tenants view the cause of eviction as stemming either from non-payment of rent (74%) or having poor relations with neighbors (11%). Of those few who have heard of an eviction in Old Colony, the reason

most often given is non-payment of rent (14%). There is an awareness that, although one can be evicted for making more than a certain income, many over-income tenants still reside in the project.

The Tenants' Council in this project has minimum visibility and apparently an even lesser function. Few residents (21%) have even heard of such a group; and, of those who have, only 23% think it copes with real problems. Only 14% of the Old Colony residents have attended a tenants' council meeting. Others are either too busy or not interested. Few tenants would join even if the Tenats' Council were to pass on eligibility criteria or to make changes in the regulations. Almost universally, they feel that there is nothing that a tenant council could do for them in Old Colony (91%).

Old Colony adjoins Mary Ellen McCormack which has a reputation for being the "best" project in South Boston,if not in the city. As a result, tenants in Old Colony tend to compare their circumstances with those of residents in Mary Ellen McCormack. From this perspective, tenants feel that they are somewhat disadvantaged; on an absolute basis, however, it would be fair to characterize the tenants in Old Colony as basically satisfied with life in the project.

An overwhelming majority hold a favorable view of public housing (71%). Yet, there are mixed feelings about living in public housing. Most would prefer to live in private accomodations (66%). They feel that it might afford more privacy, less noise, and less "trouble". Thus, they expressed mixed feelings about whether they would assist their relatives or friends to move into the project (37%, no; 46%, yes). For most tenants, therefore,

Old Colony meets their minimal needs for shelter, but they prefer, and hope to achieve, better circumstances.

MARY ELLEN McCORMACK:

THE PROJECT

The project reflects its former name: Old Harbor Village. It does not appear to be a project, but gives the impression of a small, comfortable community or a series of attractive buildings in a pleasant neighborhood setting. In fact, it seems so much like a small town or village that one expects to find a post office or a general store.

The buildings are all red brick but vary in size, design and location. There is a great deal of space between them, and the fact that no two adjoining buildings are alike creates the illusion that the overall space is even greater. Duplexes are located in the rear of the project. Near the front, on Old Colony Avenue, the buildings are taller, some four, others three stories high. A few have balconies. Trees and shrubbery abound, and there is even a sign of ivy on some buildings. Grass grows around most of the buildings. The streets inside the project are narrow and tree lined. The various designs and heights afford a greater visual richness and interest than can be found in any other project. In addition, this individualized architecture also imparts a feeling of privacy.

Each building has its own inner courtyard that is sufficiently large to accomodate parking as well as play areas for children. These courtyards are in no small way responsible for reducing the noise level, because small groups of children can be restricted to their own play area, thus allowing maximum parental supervision.

The project grounds are generally well-maintained; so, too, are the hallways in most buildings. The roads are free of litter. The moldings on all the outside windows are freshly painted.

Each duplex tenant is responsible for maintaining the yard in front of his unit; the general level of cleanliness reflects well on these tenants. The people appear to be neighborly. Mothers and children play together. The children are neatly dressed and well supervised by their mothers. This interaction is not as visible around the apartment buildings near the front, which have a much more subdued appearance.

Although the project is not structured in any rigid, symmetrical design, the streets flow tortuously around what is probably the center of the project, Sterling Square. This is a large asphalt area with benches, a baseball diamond and a surrounding walkway lined with grass and large trees. Many apartments look onto this square, adding to the impression that it is the heart or center of the project. Unfortunately, this square is marred by the only signs of vandalism in the project: markings on the stone walls and a proliferation of broken glass from bottles that have been broken on the ground. This condition is aberrant to the general tone and condition of the project. Perhaps Mary Ellen McCormack's reputation for being the best project, makes it, for that reason, an object of scorn to those in the area.

MARY ELLEN McCORMACK:

THE PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

Mary Ellen McCormack, South Boston's largest public housing project, has the shape of a triangle that is irregular on one side. It is bounded by Columbia Road, a broad, heavily-travelled thoroughfare that parallels the ocean from Marine Beach to Columbia Point and that separates the project from Columbus Park. Old Colony Avenue, running from the warehouses and factories near the West Broadway project, joins Columbia Road as it begins to parallel Mary Ellen McCormack. To reach the neighboring park, project children either race the rapidly flowing traffic or use a foot bridge located some distance from the main project area. Finally, Old Colony Railroad, the Southeast Expressway and Dorchester Avenue form the irregular side of the project triangle. The expressway, which parallels the railroad, joins Columbia Road and Old Colony Avenue at a busy rotary located at the tip of the triangle. Dorchester Avenue, intersecting both the railroad and the expressway, forms the remaining portion of the irregular side. General William H. Devine Way, a narrow, residential street, forms the remaining side. Along this street, running between Old Colony Avenue and Dorchester Avenue, are some old frame houses and a large church. Vacant lots, a gas station and a sewage plant separate the project from other residential areas across Dorchester Avenue. On Preble Street, paralleling Devine Way, one block to the north, there is a small retail business area and more old, wooden structures.

Completed in 1938, Mary Ellen McCormack was the first housing project in Boston.[1] From its initial occupancy, the project has, in many respects, been an island within South Boston. Situated in the Southwest corner of "Southie", Mary Ellen McCormack is physically isolated from the neighboring areas. In social and economic status, the project also stands apart from nearby residents.

Residents of the project are typically South Boston Irish. Many of them have lived in Mary Ellen McCormack for a number of years, often since childhood. Despite the influx of "outsiders" (Eastern Europeans, blacks and Puerto Ricans) into South Boston, Mary Ellen McCormack has remained--in no small measure because of Authority admission policy--primarily white, Irish and "middle class". This policy and tenant solidarity have made Mary Ellen McCormack a strong, cohesive project, certainly the most comfortable and desireable family project in Boston.

An analysis of the area's demographic features will not in itself afford a realistic portrait of Mary Ellen McCormack as it relates to the surrounding neighborhood. However, the insights gained from this perspective, together with field observations, do provide an adequate social panorama.

All of South Boston (as well as the entire city) has experienced a gradual decline in population, for the Mary Ellen McCormack area

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1. In fact, it is the only project in Boston that has been planned and constructed directly by the federal government. After its completion, it was leased and later sold to the Boston Housing Authority.

(census tract P-1B), this out-migration has been dramatic. Between 1950 and 1960, more than 1,000 persons left P-1B, while in neighboring tracts the exodus was less significant (P-1A, 1677-1298; P-1C, 1994-1529). (Perhaps this decline was precipitated, if not caused, by the construction of the Southeast Expressway that borders the project). Sharp decreases in the number of married couples (700-527) and the number of children between the ages of five and nineteen (1320-782), coupled with an increase in the number of widowed and divorced persons (237-412) suggest a movement within the project area from young, child-oriented to elderly, couple-oriented households. Since few AFDC mothers live in the project, the presence of more women than men in 1960 support the conclusion that many of these households entail elderly widows only. This conclusion is further substantiated by the statistic that people per household declined from the highest in the area in 1950 (3.85) to the lowest in 1960 (2.82).

Educationally, the Mary Ellen McCormack area and adjacent tracts have remained static. The number of elementary and high school graduates has remained constant in P-1B since 1940. In other areas, between 1950 and 1960, a moderate decline was experienced; but this can be explained by an overall population decline. The only significant change in the educational level of the project residents has been in the number of college graduates. In 1950, there were 335 adults with a college education; but by 1960, this group had dwindled to fifty-three. Once again, we see evidence of an exodus of the younger generation who, possibly having increased their social and economic position, seek housing in more prosperous areas. (In the other two areas, the number of college graduates

remained constant). That P-1B had the highest social rank as of 1960, 63 (P-1A, 50; P-1C, 53) reveals a picture of the Mary Ellen McCormack area that is economically and socially favorable.[2]

Median income in the areas surrounding Mary Ellen McCormack increased in the 1950's significantly by an increment of as much as $1600 to $2200). In the project area, however, the change is insignificant ($2570 to $3112); inflation, alone, might account for most of this increase. The great disparity between the immediate project area (P-1B - $3112), and the adjacent tracts (P-1A - $4935; P-1C - $5435), not from an inferior social position, but from the fact that (1) there are more people over sixty-five years old (14.5% in P-1B as compared with 12.7% in P-1A and 10.7% in P-1C) and (2) there are proportionally more widowed and divorced women in P-1B. Sweetser shows that the ratio of single men to single women is lowest in P-1B (P-1B, 86.7; P-1C, 104.3; P-1A, 166.4), indicating the presence of more single women (divorced or widowed). Since these women exist on pensions, welfare allotments, alimony or are otherwise financially dependent, median income is not an accurate measure of their socio-economic status. Any such negative implication derived from employment statistics, median income, and annual family income under $3000 belies the true characteristics of this population. The change in population, from child-oriented to couple-oriented, offers an explanation for these changes. Many

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2. Social rank is an index comprised of the number of adults who have completed eighth grade or less, together with the number of blue-collar workers.

project residents are elderly and, consequently, are unemployed. Their chief sources of income are pensions, Old Age Assistance and Social Security.

Residents of Mary Ellen McCormack, therefore, are not lower-class poor. Rather, because many are elderly and alone, and for this reason are financially dependent, measurements of socio-economic status erroneously suggest poverty-level attributes.

Housing quality within the Mary Ellen McCormack area is a more accurate reflection of their status. The project itself has been well maintained. Furthermore, Sweetser's index of housing quality confirms the visual observation that the project structures are in better condition than surrounding private residences.[3] This index, which measures deterioration in structural and plumbing conditions, represents, at lower values, sound housing and at higher values, deteriorating and dilapidated dwelling units.

In the years following the completion of Mary Ellen McCormack, tenants and neighboring residents shared similar social and economic characteristics. Like their neighbors, project tenants were generally, lower middle-class Irish families--many of them first and second generation immigrant families--who had lived in South Boston prior to entering the project. This similarity no longer exists.

Population in the areas adjacent to Mary Ellen McCormack has diminished substantially since 1950. Younger generation South

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3. Index of Housing Quality: (P-1B, 4.0; P-1A, 83.2; P-1C, 46.7)

Bostonians, both from the project and from the surrounding areas, have migrated to more prosperous areas of the city. Ethnic groups and non-whites have moved to South Boston to take advantage of the shelter abandoned by the South Bostonians. Of the area residents who lived in neighborhoods adjacent to the project, only the elderly remain. The same population shift has affected the project. What in the 1940's and early 1950's had been a family development is now a project comprised mostly of middle-age couples, without children, and the elderly.

As the ethnic and social continuity of the project and the surrounding area has diminished, so has interaction between Mary Ellen McCormack tenants and neighboring residents waned. Physically, Mary Ellen McCormack has always been isolated and insulated from the surrounding neighborhoods. The loss of social and economic similarity has perhaps caused project residents to withdraw even more into their own "community." The project, itself, with its tree-lined, quiet streets, open landscaped areas and clean buildings must make this insularity tolerable. Morever, despite a loss in income, these people are still able to maintain the tradition of community solidarity.

MARY ELLEN McCORMACK:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Many of the tenants in Mary Ellen McCormack are of Irish-American descent and have their roots in South Boston. Although the project has more units (1016) than the other two projects, it has the lowest population. This can be explained by the fact that the project population is stable and aging; and, therefore, does not have many children resident in the project. Minors represent only 39% of the population as compared with 50% in Old Colony and 59% in West Broadway. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of families have fewer than three children. Forty-one per cent of the tenants are over sixty years of age, and many are widows or widowers receiving Social Security Benefits (402). It is not surprising, therefore, that these tenants, most of whom have lived here for several years, expect to remain for more than five years (86%). Only 5% expect to move within a year.

Unlike its earlier days, Mary Ellen McCormack can count only a small number of immigrants (13%) among its tenants. Moreover, an increasingly larger proportion of tenants have lived in public housing before moving into the project (33%). Yet, the majority can still be said either to have owned their own homes (26%) or to have lived in a private dwelling before coming to the project.

The Housing Authority's policy of racial integration has obviously not altered this stable, homogeneous population. For, since 1960, when there were no black families, the Authority has moved only twenty-nine black families (3%) into the project.

Most of the tenants in Mary Ellen McCormack view themselves as middle class (57%); only a fraction indicated lower class (7%). These same proportions apply to the tenants' evaluations of their neighbors' social position. Those who view themselves as working class do not believe that their social class position will ever become middle class (17%). However, there are some in the middle class who envision upper class status (10%). It should be noted that only 5% of the population receive AFDC and that 81% completed eighth grade or high school.

The extent and strength of project cohesiveness can readily be seen in the network of friendship patterns. While most residents (74%) maintain friendships outside the project, often in former neighborhoods, a majority (67%) have friends within their own buildings and within the project (43%). Over half (60%) met their project friends after moving into the project. The tenants (64%) visit with friends more often than once a week, suggesting continual social interaction. This movement is generally restricted to the project; few tenants (21%) have made friends among the people living near the project. Therefore, it is not surprising that an overwhelming number of tenants respond favorably to other tenants (80%). However, they expressed no comment as to how their neighbors viewed them (90%).

Relatives play an important role in the lives of McCormack residents; most (80%) visit their relatives at least once a week. The tenants also appear to interact in other ways with the world outside the project. A significant number participate (26%) or wish to participate (24%) in organizations outside the project.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that a substantial number of tenants (62%) hold no opinion of their neighbors who live near the project. Of those who do (32%), the opinion is favorable.

Unlike the tenants in almost every other project, the tenants here feel not only safe (83%) but do not perceive any trouble as well (93%). This condition contributes substantially to overall satisfaction with public housing.

Mary Ellen McCormack is an old project (1938) and, therefore, it is not surprising to find a number of maintenance problems, despite apparent managerial responsiveness. The major complaints are: paint (60%); plumbing (47%); windows (36%); and plaster (24%). Even in Mary Ellen McCormack, where there are few children, the elderly are upset by noise from the children. A significant number (17%) register no complaints, however, other problems common to many projects are not indicated here.

Although one-third of the tenants do nothing about their complaints, more than half turn to the manager for service (52%), with only a small number resorting to private repairmen (12%). The manager appears to be prompt in responding to tenant complaints; 38% report that he responds immediately and 19% within a week. In general, repairs by the manager are felt to be satisfactory (62%). Moreover, tenants agree that they receive equal treatment from the manager (83%). However, a majority (57%) believe that service would be better in a private apartment.

Most tenants gained admission to the project within six months. Some (19%) were kept informed while on the waiting list by

the Authority. Many admit that they gained admission with the help of a politician; in those instances, tenants waited only a few days. Eviction is not a problem for these people; 86% were never even threatened. Those few who were, took some form of action to reinstate themselves. If threatened with eviction, most tenants would call the Housing Authority or take some other course of action. (call a politician). About 69% do not know anyone who has been evicted; of those who do, it is felt that it involved non-payment of rent. Most tenants have no complaints about the regulations (81%). They view the Authority (43%) and the manager (55%) as having the power to make the rules; yet the proportions are reversed when they are asked who is empowered to change the rules. About half the tenants (47%) indicate that they understand the function of the BHA, disclosing that they learned this information from sources other than the tenants or the manager.

The only tenant organization in the project is the "McCormack Seniors." Most tenants are not aware of its existence; those who are suggest that its role is to discuss problems (24%) or to get action (7%). Only 10% of the residents have attended meetings, the others are either too busy or are uninterested. The meagre responses to the suggestion of attending tenants' council meetings to discuss admission procedures (21%) or regulation changes (26%) suggest apathy or satisfaction. Presumably, it is the latter since tenants respond favorably to public housing, and 75% would assist friends and relatives to move in. Moreover, since many tenants are over sixty-five, it might be that they do not feel that this kind of activity is appropriate or relevant at their age.

Unlike most projects, tenants in Mary Ellen McCormack are basically satisfied with life in the project. Although they may complain about the children who make noise, the number of over-income tenants, and managerial laxity in some matters, it is not unfair to say that they would probably experience these discomforts and possibly more in private housing. To what extent the stigma of public housing is felt, even by tenants in this attractive project, can only be surmised. However, it should not be dismissed as a factor in assessing the actual satisfaction of any tenant in any project.

EAST BOSTON

INTRODUCTION

The district of East Boston is a penisula, reaching into Boston Harbor to the Northeast of Boston. Although it is almost completely surrounded by water, there is little feeling of the ocean; for, in many areas, the water is hidden from sight by the factories and commercial buildings that rim most of its shoreline. East Boston is accessible by the Sumner and Callahan tunnels, (for an average expense to the commuter of East Boston of $125 per year), and on the north side by two bridges, one of which (a draw bridge) has been in an upright position for some time and therefore cannot be used. The other bridge makes a journey to the city inconvenient. East Boston's isolation is perhaps the most complete in the city.

Its population is 85% Italian. The total population numbers 40,000, only 10,000 more than in 1880. Approximately 20% of the population has left since 1955. As in South Boston, this exodus is comprised mainly of the younger people. This leaves East Boston with an increasingly older population, mostly Italian, who are ridden with an unprecedented factionalism that precludes consensus on most issues. Evidence of this friction can be seen in the estimated 100 civic associations and clubs among only 40,000 people.

Many complain that little is done by the city for the area and for its residents. Residents complain that East Boston has been

neglected, cast off as it were from the city. Because of its unusually isolated geography, the area has unique problems: fire equipment is unable to come directly from Chelsea because of the upright draw bridge; Boston is 25¢ and twenty minutes away; East Boston has been denied permits for fireworks displays because of the huge manufacturing and oil tanks along the water; and planes to and from Logan Airport fly over East Boston, creating noise and danger to human life, although planes thus far have fallen only into the harbor; the area is crowded with old housing and small businesses that are failing in increasing numbers.

However, the Port Authority is seen as the greatest enemy, absorbing more and more land, giving in return only the deafening roar and the threat of jet planes crashing in their midst. Rents are low, but the people fear that the Port Authority will eventually move them out; they have little confidence that their elected representative will protect them. The noise of the airport undermines land values, and the enlargement of the airport has decreased recreation areas, land and beaches to the north.

The above factors, coupled with the physical isolation of East Boston, have made East Bostonians suspicious of and resistant to "outsiders," especially project people. This resistance has been particularly strong toward racial integration. Most of the 225 blacks in the area live in the two family projects. The East Bostonians are likely to defend East Boston, not necessarily because of a deep-seated pride in it, but because they want to close ranks against outsiders.

Most people in the projects are from outside East Boston. This accounts for the generalized East Boston attitude concerning the projects. Very few people from the community are willing to live in the project, for it has a stigma in the community. The elderly are the only group who are desirous of admission, primarily because of the financial responsibility it relieves, etc. East Bostonians call tenants in the projects, "project people," apparently a tag that is derogatory. Understandably, little interaction occurs between the neighborhood and the project; there seems to be an invisible wall.

According to the Globe, the area is not dying only because of its Italian pride. The buildings are well-maintained; many homes have been extensively remodled. These people savor their ethnocentricity and, by extension, their neighborhood. But this pride in being Italian is overshadowed by an even stronger family pride that divides those whom the ethnic pride brings together on a larger scale.

> The key (sic) are the civic groups. If they could get together they could get everything they want; pools, ice rinks, everything. (Globe, p. 30)

Despite its pride, and possibly because of it, East Boston evidences need in many areas and little, apparently, is being done to alleviate it. The following information relates primarily to the area in and around the Maverick project.

APAC reports that income level in East Boston are among the lowest in the city. Roughly 1,065 families have incomes under $3,000. Of those sixteen years and older, 7.1% are unemployed.

Drug abuse has grown to alarming proportions, especially among teenagers. Juvenile delinquency is also cited as a recurrent problem. It is estimated that 2400 children are below the city-wide achievement levels.

The above problems are merely illustrative, and yet no programs exist for economic development, for health or for social services.

While the buildings in the project do not have the shabby, shades-down appearance of the projects like West Broadway, they are not nearly as well maintained or designed as those in the surrounding neighborhood. Possibly, the project suffers only by comparison.

As if to compensate, there appears to be a strong neighborhood feeling: several women talk with the milkman while others lean out of windows to supervise children and talk with neighbors. This neighborliness pervades in no small way because of the projects unique design--rows staggered on a hillside with intervening roads becoming at once integral parts of the project, excluding outsiders and yet available to take residents away.

MAVERICK

THE PROJECT

Maverick reflects the physical deterioration evident in the crowded, dirty buildings that surround it. It is bordered on the East by water, but factories and old buildings on that side of the project allow only slight glimpses of the harbor. What might otherwise be an inviting place to live, with a panoramic view of the harbor, is, instead, a cramped cluster of institutional buildings lodged between gritty factories and warehouses.

This three-story development, which is one block by two blocks square, has 2004 rooms, or 414 apartments in twelve buildings, creating an enormous population density. These buildings are three-story red brick with intermittent white bricks that are now dirty from the smoke around them. The project is in the shape of a perfect rectangle, forming yet another perfect rectangle in the center with a spray pool set in the middle of a concrete play area. The spray pool is a welcome addition to this waterless, cement world; ironically, parts of the unaccessible blue harbor can be seen from it.

The central courtyard is small and packed with drying, recreation and parking areas, and a few benches; and, consequently, there is no sense of open space. The terrain is flat and paved with cement. Small groups dot the courtyard, each group obviously unconcerned about the other. Old women sit on benches, young children play tag around a group of older boys as in a football huddle on the edge of a bench, heads down, hands folded, talking.

A woman leans out of a window to yell at some children who are almost hit by a car travelling too fast along New Street.

The wood window moldings are yellow and peeling. There are little gullies between the buildings and the sidewalks where one presumes there is dirt, since a few shrubs, squashed against the buildings, must be growing in something. There are also a few trees, taller than the buildings, but not taller than the surrounding factories.

Some of the windows are broken. The brick steps and approach to the entrance halls from the outside are somehow black, as if there had been a fire in the hallway and the smoke and fire had blackened the outside bricks. Words and designs have been scrawled along the hallway walls. The doors are metal and are either unpainted or painted but kicked and scratched clean. The only illumination for these halls enters from a door leading into the inner courtyard. The halls are filthy: the linoleum black with dirt and age, exhibiting heel marks gourged into its surface. Litter covers the floor. The doors leading to the apartment units generally are as dirty and marred as the hallway of which they are a part.

The project buildings facing Sumner Street, which parallels the project on the water side, are like the others, but seem less engulfed by the surrounding industries and decaying structures because of the large open area across this street. For this reason, the buildings on this side seem to be cleaner. In addition, there are trees growing in small patches of soil. New Street, which adjoins Sumner Street, is lined with huge, dirty, stone factories

which roar and belch smoke and dirt. Maverick Street, which is parallel to Sumner, is narrow and has many three-story frame apartment buildings that are in somewhat worse physical condition than the project. A church is located at the corner of Maverick and Havre. Around the corner, on Havre Street, can be found more three-story apartments; these buildings, however, are in somewhat better condition.

The cumulative effect of these adjacent buildings on the project is one of strangulation by proximity, depriving it of air and light. It not only gives the illusion that the project has sprouted out of the cement, but also that it is the same cement that is coextensive with the buildings across the street. Somehow, all of these buildings must be joined somewhere beneath the sidewalk.

MAVERICK:

THE PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

There is little that distinguishes the character of the Maverick project tenants from their neighbors in private housing. Socially, econimically, ethnically and racially, tenants in Maverick and people in the surrounding residential areas represent similar backgrounds, attitudes and aspirations. Census tract B-3, of which 1404 of the 2259 residents live in the project, covers more wharf and warehouse area than residential shelter. Track B-2 to the north and tract B-4 to the east and south are more predominately residential, with pockets of light industry and local retail stores. Moving from the ocean towards the center of East Boston, signs of extreme poverty quickly disappear, although only some sections of Orient Heights are free of some blight.

A strong ethnic heritage plays an important role in shaping the sentiments of the people.[1] Scattered throughout this area are small factions, not really neighborhoods or communities, but cliques. Most often, family ties forge these bonds; although proximity and common cause (such as the Port Authority) can, on occasion, unite them. Ethnocentricity, however, has been the weakness, as well as the strength, of East Boston. Political, social and recreational groups find it almost impossible to organize collective activity involving members of these various cliques.

1. Sweetser notes that in 1960, a large percentage of the population retains ethnocentricity. "Stock" Italians: B-3, 24.3%; B-2, 56.3%, B-4, 84.6%.

If members of these various cliques do come together, committed to a common cause, factions invariably develop, driving them apart again.

Maverick was completed in 1942, at which time the area was more solidly Italian than it is today. During the past two decades, recent immigrants turned to the old Italian communities of East Boston and the North End for temporary assistance. But once on their feet, they appear to have left the area for more suburban settings (possibly only as far as Orient Heights). The project has brought new people into East Boston, causing friction among established residents. Industrialization of the area near the Harbor and the incessant roar of jets have also driven many people from the Maverick area into other sections of East Boston or into other areas of Boston itself. Consequently, introduction of the project with its 1400 additional residents, coupled with a massive exodus, left only 200 more residents in B-3 in 1950 than in 1940. In the following decade, this area witnessed a further loss of nearly 1,000 persons. At the same time, the neighboring tracts, B-2 and B-4 reported a similar, although not as dramatic, decline in population.

Demographic trends in East Boston as a whole are most clearly represented in the Maverick census tract area. Just as decline in population, although temporarily stemmed by the construction of Maverick, is most graphically evidenced in B-3; so, too, are the signs of decline and decay.

Since 1940, the character of people living in and near the project has changed. Once exclusively white, East Boston, and particularly Maverick, have been "integrated." Blacks and

Puerto Ricans, unable to find housing in traditional ghetto areas, have begun to move into previously all-white neighborhoods although not without evolving resentment. In the project, alone, the number of non-white persons has risen from three in 1960 to 87 in 1968. (In the Orient Heights area, by contrast, this shift has been less dramatic--24 in 1960 to 70 in 1968.) The non-whites have been accompanied by an increasing number of low-income whites.

Those who have moved from the area tend to be young families with children. Minors, a strong index of young, married couples, have decreased significantly. All areas indicate some decline in the number of children, ages five to nineteen, but in B-3 the dip is most noticeable. Interestingly, despite these losses, the area retains a significant proportion of children (27.6% between ages six and seventeen). This possibly reflects the disproportionately higher number of children in the project. Consistent with this decline in the number of minors, the number of married couples dropped by 40% between 1950 and 1960. However, out-migration is the product of no single population group. Single people have also begun moving away from Maverick (1950, 661; 1960, 516). Only the number of widowed and divorced, those people least able to leave because of financial dependency or sentimental attachment, has increased. Moreover, some of this influx can be attributed to the number of elderly who now reside in the project.

Economically, the entire Maverick area, while it shows some signs of upward movement, lags far behind other areas. Median income, one index of social and economic momentum within a community, has, even in B-2 and B-4, recorded only moderate gains.

In 1950, B-3 showed the highest median income, $2611. In the decade that followed, while B-2 and B-4 each advanced to $4200, B-3 increased to $3130 only. Further support for the notion that B-3 is suffering economically comes from data on families earning less than $3000 per year. Declines were registered in all tracts but B-3, which once had the fewest number of such families but now has the greatest proportion (211).[1] While 5.4% of the families have yearly incomes exceeding $10,000, over 40% of the families in the Maverick area subsist on poverty-level incomes ($3,000 or less annually). Maverick area residents have generally poor educational backgrounds. Fewer than 30% of the adults in tract B-3 have completed either high school or college. In addition, the median for school years completed, while comparatively better than the neighboring tracts, is low (8.8).

Coupled with ecucational levels which have not changed significantly since 1940, employment statistics are significant as indices of social rank.[2] Since 1940, the number of persons in B-3 in and out of the labor force has decreased significantly. Sweetser notes that as of 1960, over 40% of the residents in B-3 are employed in professional or managerial capacities or clerical services. In part, this accounts for the comparatively favorable social rank in B-3. However, social rank, an index concerning employed persons, fails to account for the substantial number of

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1. There can be no doubt that the project has a direct impact on such data and on the area itself. See following summary data for the project.

2. Social Rank: B-2, 23; B-3, 40; B-4, 27.

unemployed residents. By comparison with the neighboring areas, this factor is not significant in the analysis of economic stability. However, looking to the Orient Heights area for comparison, the area is indeed experiencing severe unemployment (3.8% Orient Heights; 9.5% Maverick).

In the two adjacent census tracts, B-2 and B-4, social rank is lower than in B-3 in spite of a high median income. Educational levels in these areas are similar to B-3, but because more than 70% of those employed in B-2 and B-4 are blue collar workers (as opposed to 57%), B-3 receives the highest rank.

From the above data, one major conclusion can be drawn: the Maverick area is rapidly losing its viability as a residential section. Deterioration of physical plant has accompanied, if not percipitated, decline in community solidarity rooted in Italian ethnicity. Industrial presence and airport expansion afford Maverick little room for growth.

MAVERICK:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Maverick is a small project, both in terms of the number of people who live there and the amount of available space: 1404 residents live on 9.03 acres, of which 34.4% is covered, creating a population density of 155 per acre overall and 446 per acre covered. The population is largely white (94%). The six per cent, or fourteen families, who are non-white, however, do not have essentially different characteristics from their white counterparts as is often the case in other projects. For example, in 60% of the white and non-white families alike, both parents are present. These families tend to be large--50% have four or more children. No racial tension is apparent, possibly because there are so few black families and because of their similarities to the white majority.

The educational level of those interviewed is lower than that for the average housing project. Twenty-two per cent of these tenants did not go beyond the sixth grade; 44% did not go beyond eighth grade, and only 22% finished high school. Coupled with this low educational level is a high unemployment rate. The latter, however, may reflect the large number of elderly in the project (32%).

The overwhelming majority of tenants had been raised in a city (94%). Prior to moving into public housing, 78% of the tenants had lived in private housing and 16% had come from another public housing development. More than half of the tenants have lived in the project for more than three years (an average period

for most tenants in the city). Although 39% of the adult population is over the age of sixty, a substantial proportion are middle aged (39%).

These tenants do not devote a great deal of time either to their children (38%) or to their spouses (28%). In fact, 61% respond that they keep to themselves most of the time. Of those who do have friends, 29% have friends who live in their building or elsewhere in the project. Although no one reported having a friend in another project, 38% have friends outside of public housing. It is not surprising, then, that many tenants (44%) feel that it is quite difficult to make friends within the project; the project has the second highest percentage in this category. Nor is it difficult to accept that relatively few tenants (33%) made any friends after they moved into the project. Only 22% of the tenants state that they see their friends more than once a week. Although 67% of the tenants do not borrow from their neighbors, many of those that do, borrow frequently (22%). Since there are relatively few friendship patterns in the project but a number of aid recipients, it is likely that their borrowing reflects need and not neighborliness. Despite this paucity of social interaction, 67% have a favorable impression of their neighbors. Yet 13% of the adults interviewed have no contact with their neighbors, and 13% feel that their neighbors are "nosey" (a not uncommon sentiment in public housing). With regard to their neighbors in the surrounding neighborhood, tenants express no opinion. This sentiment, or lack of it, reflects the lack of interaction with the people "out there." Thus, when asked what

they think these people feel about them, 11% report that the neighbors do not like them, and 91% express no opinion.

Even though these tenants do not have friends in the area, 90% of them have family in Boston or in the immediate area. Almost half (46%) see these relatives at least once a week and another 39% at least once a month. Because these tenants have so few friends inside, most (83%) would help their relatives move into the project. This is borne out by the equally large number (83%) who would help their friends to move in. Thus, the apparent alienation and lack of community has not caused their social instinct to atrophy.

The lack of interaction between the tenants in this project probably creates or supports a number of its problems. For example, there is more fear in this project than in any other in Boston--50% say that they are afraid. In identifying the causes of "trouble" in the project, they felt that none of it comes from the outside; but 61% feel that the trouble is instigated by other tenants (another record among the projects). Whether this is, in fact, true may be quite beside the point; for, in any event, it suggests a fundamental distrust and dislike for others in the same community. No wonder there is so little interaction.

In Maverick, some tenants participate in outside organizations (28%). Of the majority who do not, only an insignificant few (6%) desire such activity. Understandably, these non-joiners have not formed a tenants' council in the project. When asked whether they would join a council if it were organized, as many as 39% expressed interest, especially if its purpose were to change the rules. This

interest reflects an overwhelming dissatisfaction with the rules (78%). For example, many feel that it is unfair to increase a tenant's rent as he increases his income. This policy, they feel, thwarts a tenant's attempt to improve his financial position. In this connection, AFDC recipients complain that their additional budgetory increment, or adjustment for the higher cost of living, is absorbed by a proportional increase in rent.

Seventy-two per cent of those people were able to get into the project within six months; but none were kept informed of their position on the waiting list.

The tenants express many specific complaints about the physical condition of their apartment and the project: 89% complain about the plumbing; 67% about the windows; 39% about the paint. In general, these complaints are well above the average for public housing in Boston. What is worse, these complaints are almost never answered by the management--72% report that the management never even investigated, let alone solved a reported maintenance problem. Since many of the tenants are elderly or women without husbands, these problems persist; only 22% of the tenants engage in some for of self-help.

If the management does undertake the repairs, many tenants feel that his efforts are generally insufficient (28%). More significantly, almost half (46%) believe that others get better service. These people are viewed as the management's "favorites". And even more (61%) believe that they would get better service in private housing. Both of these statistics are markedly higher than the norm for Boston. The tenants' problems do not end here, for

they report that the laundry facilities are inadequate; and that garbage disposal is problematic. It should be noted that the extent of this dissatisfaction is generally 20% higher than in any other project.

Over half (60%) believe that the manager makes and changes the rules. This unusually high misconception is no doubt prompted by an apparently arbitrary and unresponsive manager who does as he pleases. To what extent does this managerial indifference--and inconsistency--contribute to Maverick's lack of solidarity and cohesiveness?

The tenants manifest a relatively keen awareness of the causes for eviction. They know, for example, that not only non-payment of rent but also a failure to abide by the rules can result in eviction. This sophistication may have developed out of the awareness that a number of others had been evicted for these reasons (44% knew of others who had been evicted for breaking regulations--a high figure comparatively).

In light of the pervasive dissatisfaction with service and comfort, it is not surprising that these tenants, more so than in any other project, wish to own their own homes (94%). Yet, this goal is apparently not a realistic one for most; for over half (56%) expect to remain in the project for more than five years. This may reflect the large percentage of elderly who probably do not expect to leave.

Maverick can be fairly characterized as the worst project in Boston both physically and socially. Nowhere is management so unresponsive or the project as poorly maintained (with the

possible exception of West Broadway). Nowhere do tenants have so little contact with each other or distrust each other less.

Although residents in other projects will speak of living in public housing as a matter of necessity rather than choice, in Maverick this sentiment is expressed more often and more intensely. As one tenant put it, "We can't see how we could live anywhere else. We have too many kids and we're too poor."

ORIENT HEIGHTS

THE PROJECT

The project resembles the cliff dwellings of the Southwest Indians; for it is built into the side of a large, steep hill. This hill overlooks a highway running past Suffolk Downs Raceway, near the bottom of the hill, into the heart of East Boston. Only a few structures border this roadway. Consequently, there is an open, spacious environment, affording considerable light and air to the front of the project. Some apartments in the project even have a clear view of Boston Harbor and the ships resting there.

The project is arranged in four parallel rows on the hillside. The buildings, red brick with sections of yellow brick interspersed, are three stories high and have a cement basement visible above the ground level. Waldemar Avenue provides the bottom boundary with Overlook and Faywood Streets running in between the second and third rows of buildings. Orient Avenue passes behind the project, along the top of the hill. On this street and beyond are beautiful, small, residential homes with lovely lawns and often a view of the harbor. The project contrast sharply: its bland uniformity and asphalt drying and playground areas are conspicuous among the neighboring homes. Although almost as well maintained, these four rows of stark uniformity, without the benefit of intervening space or landscaping, do not contribute elegance or grace to the area. The windows have yellow, wood moldings that have been painted recently. The entrance doors are wooden, and, in most cases, defaced.

Several small play areas are interspersed throughout the project. They are very safe for children since traffic around the project is minimal. This traffic consists primarily of people who live in the project. Those who live on the other side of the hill do not need to use the streets in the project to enter or leave the area. The play yards are cement and surrounded by chain link fences. A moderate amount of broken glass can be found in them.

On Faywood Avenue, at the top of the hill, the last row of buildings differs from the other rows. These are two-story duplexes with a door in the middle of each building that serves as an entrance to both apartments. The halls in between are very well kept. Most of the halls have been covered with rugs by the tenants. The doors to the apartments themselves are light wood and in very good condition. Each duplex has a small back yard with a drying area bounded by a cement retaining wall that supports the hillside. Each apartment is large with a spacious basement and has a separate entrance from the outside. The grass is uncut around most of these buildings and the grounds otherwise reveal minimal care.

The apartment buildings lower on the hill are all three stories. The entranceways to these buildings are not as well maintained as those in the duplexes, but they are well lighted and the windows are intact. Incinerators are on the outside, and the areas immediately around them are clean. The duplexes do not have incinerators; rather, the tenants place trash in containers that are emptied by the management. The windows on all buildings have yellow, wood moldings that have been recently painted.

ORIENT HEIGHTS:

PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

To find a public housing project in this comfortable surburban setting is startling. While the project does not blend architectually into its neighboring area, no artificial physical boudaries intervene either. Because of social and economic disparities, however, full cooperation or social interaction between tenants and the surrounding community may never occur. Even the proximity of common schools and churches apparently cannot bridge the prevailing socio-economic gap.

This disparity is somewhat masked in the census statistics for the area. In some instances, the project, accounting for one-sixth of the total census tract population, becomes obscurred in statistical generalities. Conversely, to exclude the project from these measurements might favorably affect the over-all results. For example, 1960 census data indicates twenty-four non-white families present in A-1. All these families live in the project which, itself, represents a minority of the total tract population. Few, if any, of the 237 families earning less than $3,000 per year live outside of the project; neither do the 460 professional and managerial people living in A-1. Thus, all data for the general Orient Heights area (tract A-1) must be closely scrutinized in light of the project population.

Population statistics suggest that younger child-oriented families have been moving into this area since 1950. And this influx is evident both in the project and in the surrounding

neighborhood. The number of children (ages five to nineteen), as well as the number of married couples, have increased substantially. Many elderly have also moved to the Orient Heights area (by 1960 10% of the area population was over 65) to live in the Catholic rest home near the project.

The present socio-economic level of the surrounding area began to emerge after 1950, not long after the project had been built. From 1950 to 1960 this area recorded impressive social and economic gains--in no small part the result of an influx of "middle-class" residents. Over five hundred new housing units (more than half public housing, but the remainder, single family dwellings) were constructed. Sweetser's analysis of housing conditions and occupancy reveals that 37.9% of all housing units in this tract are owner occupied--a significant index of social and economic achievements. The index of housing quality which measures deterioration in structural and plumbing conditions is low (16.8).[1] Since project units are generally in satisfactory condition, this index represents the character of adjacent residences.

Census data also indicates several dramatic demographic trends in the Orient Heights Area: median annual income, employment and professional and managerial appointments. Median annual income advanced sharply from $3500 to $5500. However, this median does not fully reflect all income groups; and, in particular, it masks the economic disparities that exist in this area. Almost

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1. Compare this with indexes of 85.5 for the Cathedral project area and 40.4 for the Commonwealth project area.

an equal percentage of families in the Orient Heights area subsist on annual incomes below $3,000 and above $10,000. The unemployment rate (3.8%) for 1960 was lower than the national average. Among the employed, over half have blue collar jobs while 20.6% have professional or managerial positions.

Although educational achievements in the area (indicated by median for school years completed--10.9) are not impressive, there has been progress. Adults (25 years old and over) who have completed high school jumped markedly during the fifties (1700-2383). By 1960, almost half the residents in the Orient Heights area had completed high school or college.

Foreign influence in the Orient Heights area is significant. Sweetser notes that in 1960, 38% of the area residents were of foreign or mixed parentage. Italian heritage and influence, in particular, according to Sweetser's measurements, is a potent force in this area (41.9% are stock Italian). By comparison, this area has retained its ethnic solidarity while in the Maverick area the proportion of "stock" Italians has dwindled although evidence of the ethnic heritage still pervade the area. Racially, Orient Heights has maintained its predominately white character. There are only seventy non-whites in the project (up from twenty-four in 1960).

Most homes on the hill near Orient Heights were constructed at the same time as, or subsequent to, the completion of the project. Apparently, the proximity of public housing and the specter it often generates has not frightened these people. While

there apparently has been no significant interaction among residents of Orient Heights and their neighbors, neither has there been friction. The project is a permanent fixture, as are many of its tenants. Residents of the surrounding area, however, are mobile, and will probably escape to a neighborhood more consonant with their social status if the socio-economic character of the project tenants continues to decline.

ORIENT HEIGHTS

INTERVIEW DATA

There are 325 families living in Orient Heights. Most of these families are not large (63% have less than three children). While one third of the families have no children, almost half of the families are one-adult families with minors (60% of the population are minors). Few in this latter group receive AFDC. Typically, the tenants are young (67% under 40).

Many of the 1195 residents (6% non-white), are originally from Massachusetts. Prior to moving into Orient Heights, about 70% lived in a private apartment. Although only 33% of the residents are employed, 25% of the families have a disabled person, often the head of the household.

Over half of the residents have lived in their apartment for more than three years; about 40% have lived here less than three years. About half do not know how long they will remain, while 16% plan to stay less than a year and 25% plan to stay more than five years.

The Orient Heights residents generally perceive their neighbors as being in the same socio-economic class as themselves: about one third, middle class; the other two thirds, working class or lower class. Very few expected to become socially mobile upward.

Interaction among the tenants appears high. The tenants generally consider themselves and others as friendly. Thus, they report that it's easy to make friends in the project. Few (25%) keep to themselves; it is likely that this group is composed mainly of the elderly and disabled. Many have friends in their own

buildings (58%) or in the project (42%). Most of those who have friends in the project met them in the project, while some (25%) had known tenants before they moved in. As many as 40% borrow from their neighbors; but, of that number, most do it only occasionally.

Interaction with residents in the "neighborhood" surrounding the project is limited; only 17% have made friends there. Tenants in the project feel that residents of the surrounding area do not want anything to do with them. Since the contrast between the social and economic status of the project residents and the neighboring people is great, little interaction should be expected.

Most of the tenants have relatives in the metropolitan area (58%) and they see these people quite often. The tenants (33%) in Orient Heights are also involved in a number of organizations outside the project. Of those who are not, a substantial number indicate that they would like to become involved.

With regard to tenant-management relations, there seems to be mild annoyance with a relatively large number of maintenance problems. (Many of these problems are minor; for example, a clogged toilet or a leaky faucet.) In addition, there are complaints about service; yet, there is a concommetant acknowledgment that the manager's job is difficult, suggesting that some rapport has been established between management and the tenants. Therefore, although 25% respond that they have no maintenance problems, 85% complain about plumbing and plastering, and 33% indicate problems with electricity, windows, paint, locks and appliances.

When a problem arises, most tenants call the manager (60%); however, 25% make the repairs themselves. Thirty-three per cent respond that the manager fails to inspect when it is needed. Where there is an inspection, only 8% say the necessary work is done immediately thereafter. For the others, repairs often take more than a month. Of those that do call the manager, 25% report that he makes the repairs immediately; 16% say he usually acts within a month; and 8% report no action.

Most of those whom the manager services feel that the repairs are sufficient (67%); of those who express dissatisfaction, 25% then do something about the problem themselves. No one reports that others get better treatment from the manager; nor do most believe that service in a private apartment would be the same (obviously this accounts for their acknowledgment of the manager's problems). The difficulties experienced with a lack of recreation, laundry and garbage disposal facilities, noise, trouble in the halls--are severe and frequent. Hallways pose the greatest problem (92%), followed closely by noise (75%) and facilities (58%).

There is a greater feeling of unsafety in Orient Heights than in many other projects. The tenants feel that the "trouble" is caused by other tenants, not by outsiders. More specifically, the tenants attribute this problem to teenagers in the area and to poor lighting, both inside and around the project. The elderly feel more threatened by these youngsters than do other age groups. Vandalism, purse-snatching, and drug abuse are often cited by residents as the most distressing problems.

Most of the tenants (75%) had no difficulty obtaining entrance to the project (less than a six month wait) though 50% responded that they were not kept informed of their place on the waiting list.

Few tenants have ever been threatened with eviction (33%). If they were threatened, most would take action (58%), but did not indicate its specific nature. Less than half the tenants (42%) have heard of evictions in the project, indicating that the tenants who were forced to leave either had not paid rent (17%) or had otherwise not obeyed rules.

The tenants appear frustrated about the lack of control they have over their lives in the project; and they feel powerless to do anything about the problems that plague them. Apparently, there is no active tenants'group within Orient Heights. In any event, few think that a tenants' council would be able to get action. But as many as half would join or attend meetings if a council were empowered to determine admission policies (42%) or to make changes in the regulations (50%).

However, regulations do not seem to play a crucial role in the lives of these tenants (67% do not disapprove of them), with the exception of an expressed desire to have pets and to have visitors stay with them (both prohibited in the lease). Some (25%) think that the management makes the regulations, but even fewer think that he can change them.

Many (58%) would assist their friends to move into Orient Heights, but they would not do the same for their relatives (97%). Most would like to own their own home, while the remainder are evenly split between public and private rentals.

Tenants note that five years ago this was a veterans' project, but now it "has been turned over to the politicians." This probably means, in part, that AFDC mothers and other families in reduced financial circumstances have been admitted. It also carries the possible implication that black people had, until recently, been excluded from Orient Heights. Most probably, the higher incidence of fear coincided with the introduction of the "new element". To compound matters, these tenants sense that people in the surrounding area have a higher class rank and therefore resent the "project people". It may be these threats to their socio-economic status, rather than an objectively oppressive environment, that contribute to high levels of dissatisfaction with this project.

Although it is difficult to summarize the sentiments of so many people with a single statement, one tenant came close when he said, "If you need it, it's nice. It's better than a run-down apartment, but I would never live here all my life."

BRIGHTON - ALLSTON:

INTRODUCTION

Brighton - Allston is the story of a small residential community that has rapidly become commercialized as well as congested with traffic and large sprawling apartment complexes containing a polyglot population. What was once the largest cattle-market town in the country has become a business district with declining apartment buildings filled with students who care little for property values or community life. The elderly, in particular, express resentment toward these students because their presence raises rents as well as the noise level.

> Here, widows, widowers, pensioners, shut-ins, share the same buildings with students from Boston University, Boston College, and other schools in the area. It is not a very good recipe for coexistence, but it presumably makes good money.
>
> (Globe, p.5)

The area population has declined by almost 8,000 people during the past ten years. (The number of registered voters has declined by an estimated 5,000). The remaining population (64,282, as of 1960) is 98% white. Although black people represent only 1.5% (.4% other non-white include Chinese, who have been moving into the area in increasing numbers), the number has tripled in the last seven years. The area is predominantly Irish-Catholic, achieving 90% in some areas. In addition, there are large Jewish, Italian and Lithuanean groups, often forming small neighborhoods.

Although this community is surrounded on almost all sides by surburbia (Brookline, Cambridge, Newton and Watertown), the mean income is $6,412. This figure may reflect some pockets of affluence

rather than a generalized financial well being, for 11.3% of the families earn less than $3,000 annually (poverty level for family of four) and the area ranks eighth in the city for welfare recipients.

The chief problems plaguing the Brighton - Allston area are traffic congestion and blight attendant upon the encroachment of industry. New businesses have absorbed actual and potential living space, depriving formerly residential areas of their attractiveness. These businesses have also introduced a heavier traffic pattern with demands on already limited parking space. The recent addition of the Massachusetts Turnpike Extension has also reduced housing stock as well as pour additional traffic into the area. This reduction in residential tone has given rise to an open invitation for student presence.

The noise, the density, the lack of safe places for children to play, have caused many young families to leave Brighton for the surrounding suburbs. It is fair to say that Brighton is not a family environment.

FANEUIL:

THE PROJECT

Faneuil differs from Commonwealth both in its size and in its surrounding area. It is a smaller project and is located in an area characterized by small businesses and factories, not apartment buildings as is the case with Commonwealth. The Faneuil Street side of the project, however, has a more attractive setting than does the North Beacon Street side. A grass park with a paved recreation area can be seen across Faneuil Street. On either side of the park are some nicely kept, small private homes. While this residential section is as appealing as any near Commonwealth, it is an exception here rather than the prevailing condition.

North Beacon is generally dirtier and noisier than Faneuil Street. The former carries heavy trucks to the business district that borders it and to the thoroughfares that begin at its terminal point, one block beyond the housing project. These trucks move quickly and noisely along North Beacon but the sound does not reach Faneuil Street.

Across North Beacon Street are two small modern apartment buildings, as well as a lumber company, a grocery store and other small businesses. The terrain on this side of the project slopes down into the street, heightening the presence of the street; on the Faneuil side, it sweeps up and then down into a park. More people appear along North Beacon Street than on Faneuil. Hence, the tenants on Faneuil Street face a residential

setting; the tenants on North Beacon, however, must feel that they are living in the middle of a busy thoroughfare.

The project consists of ten, three-story red-brick buildings. Eight of the buildings face each other in pairs, forming four open squares. The remaining two face a used car lot. These squares are open and spacious. They are paved with concrete, not grass, and are, therefore, quite barren. The adjoining park compensates somewhat for the absence of greenery, at least on the Faneuil Street side.

In the basement of one building is a recreation hall that apparently is used by teenagers; its rather spartan condition--a few chairs and tables and ping pong tables--would make it uncomfortable for adults. It also has a juke box and a coke machine.

A drying area in each square is protected by a chain link fence, but no area seems to have been similarly demarcated for play. In a few places, naked concrete forms emerge from the ground, stripped of the wooden slats that formerly adorned them and dignified their presence as benches. Although there is no litter, neither does the area evidence care, especially on the North Beacon Street side. It appears that the ubiquitous dirt in that street insinuates itself into the project.

The hallways are relatively clean. The floors are scuffed but free of litter. Incinerators are in the hallways, but no sign of litter appears near them. Some of the hallway doors have been punctuated with holes that allow the wind to pass through.

FANEUIL:

PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

Faneuil, unlike Commonwealth, is not integrated into its environment. In physical design and general socio-economic composition, Faneuil differs substantially from the surrounding neighborhood and its residents. Highway systems, together with expanding industrialization, has minimized and inhibited the development of a residential climate.

The introduction of a large public housing project with people who are not indigenous to the area can effect or accelerate dramatic changes in the residential character of that area. The generally negative perceptions of public housing may stem the influx of residents and the construction of residential shelter. However, more often than not, these consequences are in the making long before the advent of the project; and its presence may tend to accelerate the decline (See, for example, West Broadway and Maverick).

In this instance, however, there was no substantial residential neighborhood; Faneuil was constructed in a residential vacuum. This neighborhood, not unlike other sections of Allston - Brighton, had experienced a deterioration in its residential shelter and in the socio-economic character of its residents. In fact, the area had already become highly commercialized when Faneuil was introduced. Moreover, it cannot be denied that plans for, and the ultimate completion of the nearby Massachusetts Turnpike Extension, were a substantial deterrent to residential development.

Although population in census tract Y-1 (the Faneuil tract) increased minimally between 1940 and 1950, there had been a significant out-migration of prior residents coupled with a noticeable influx of new residents during this period. Shifts in educational, employment, and age levels as well as marital status define the transition. Young married couples without children (possibly World War II veterans) constituted the largest category of new residents.

Completed in July, 1950, Faneuil was not included in the 1950 census. Consequently, shifts in the population of census tract Y-1 (project tract), and neighboring tracts by 1960, can be measured only in terms of the project's existence. Unlike the decade 1940 to 1950, the decade following the completion of Faneuil witnessed a sharp increase in the number of children (1683 to 2375) chiefly caused by the addition of the project's population. The number of married couples also increased (2050 to 2063), but so did the number of married persons (married and separated), even more rapidly (4148 to 4339). This characteristic suggests that many one-adult families with minors were originally placed in the Faneuil project (the ratio of adults to minors is 8:11).[1]

From 1950 to 1960, the proportion of persons active in the labor force increased over prior gains between 1940 to 1950 whereas people not in the labor force decreased. In contrast to these apparent employment gains, the 1960 census reports that 6% of the

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1. Eighty-three, or one third, of the families are one-adult families.

civilian labor force in tract Y-1 remained unemployed (Y-3B, 5.1%; Y-5B, 2.0%; Y-2, 7.5%). Moreover, fewer persons in tract Y-1 were employed in managerial or professional positions and more in blue collar jobs than were workers in neighboring tracts. Median income manifest in that decade dramatic increase, far beyond any minimal increment attributable to inflation. Finally, the proportion of families in Y-1 earning less than $3000 (13.2%) is higher than in all other tract areas except one.

The number of adults who have completed high school and college continued an upward momentum begun in the previous decade. By 1960, proportionally more adults in Y-1 had completed high school and college than in Y-3B (containing Commonwealth) and Y-4 (a neighborhood comparable to Commonwealth). However, when compared with these same two areas, the Faneuil tract has the lowest median for school years completed (Y-1, 10.3; Y-3B, 12.1; Y-4, 12.2). This apparent conflict suggests the presence of qualitative differences within the population of Y-1 although the extent of this disparity is impossible to determine with existing data. The presence of a low educational median and a high proportion of blue collar workers in Y-1 effects a low social rank. For the Faneuil area (Y-1) the index is 47, low on the raw scale and on a comparative basis (Y-3B, 72; Y-4, 71).[2]

Isolated from other neighboring residential areas by impressive physical barriers, Faneuil is situated within an area largely devoted to light industry and local retail stores. A small project

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1. However, this index for Faneuil appears more favorable in light of corresponding indexes for East Boston (40), Lenox-Camden (40) and the South End (45). However, in contrast with Charlestown (51), Orient Heights (56) and Old Colony (51), the rank is low.

by comparison (758 units), Faneuil represents a socio-economic group that because of severe physical and economic limitations has no effect on the surrounding community. Often, physical barriers have been surmounted. The neighboring Catholic school that many project children attend, and shopping areas frequented by both tenants and private housing residents, provide common meeting grounds that may encourage interaction. However, differences in social and economic conditions play a dominant role in isolating the project residents from interactions with neighboring residents. Even though census tract data suggests that residents in Y-1 are employed, well-educated, and earning decent salaries, Faneuil tenants, by definition, do not meet these standards.

To observe Faneuil and its immediate area is to realize suddenly that by using only census tract data to describe a large census tract such as Y-1 is to have lost some of the particular flavor within the immediate project area. The average tenant in Faneuil does not earn $5,796 (median income for census tract Y-1) annually; nor has he completed high school or at least not college as statistics reveal he might. Almost 20% of Faneuil tenants receive AFDC, and another 26% live on OAA or Social Security. In fact, less than half the families (121) receive no form of public or private assistance. By way of further contrast, 13.6% of tract Y-1 families earn over $10,000 annually. In fact, the only statistical evaluation of the census tract indicative of Faneuil and its tenants is the proportion of families existing on an annual income of less than $3,000 (13.2%).

This area of Allston - Brighton is a neighborhood of contrasts. Residential units vie for a clean, peaceful environment among the crushing din and tumult of the neighboring light industry. Project tenants contrast their living conditions and socio-economic status with their neighbors who live in nearby single-family houses. Along North Beacon Street, cars and trucks rush past the project, while, on the Faneuil Street side, tenants view a clean, landscaped park frequented by project children. Several blocks away from the project, on North Beacon Street, a block of old apartment buildings has recently been rehabilitated. Hopefully, similar rehabilitation efforts will be made in the Faneuil area.

Contrary to the events in the Commonwealth area, Faneuil was constructed in a non-neighborhood. Within a three-block radius of the project there were few, if any, other residential structures. Subsequent to the project's construction, no process of assimilation began. Instead, physical intrusions, the Massachusetts Turnpike and Soldiers Field Road Extension and increasing industrialization and commercialization of the surrounding area, effectively limited the accessibility of further residential sections. Nearby, new dwellings that were completed subsequent to the advent of Faneuil, as well as the people who inhabit them, in no way resemble Faneuil or its tenants. Thus, Faneuil was constructed in a residential vacuum and now remains isolated.

FANEUIL:

INTERVIEW DATA

This is a white project; only 12% of the population, or 10% of the families, are non-white. As is often the case in public housing, minors represent better than half the population (58%); but here, only one-third of the families are one-adult households. Moreover, this is a young population with many adults who are between twenty and forty and few (7%) who are elderly. (This sample did not include figures on children.)

None of the tenants in this sample had lived in public housing prior to moving into Faneuil. But, the overwhelming majority (70%) derive from a city in Massachusetts, often Boston. Roughly, half had lived in a private apartment and the other half had lived in their own home. Once in the project, they tend to be quite unstable. For better than half have been living in their present apartment for more than three years while only 25% have been living there for less than a year. And, they generally expect to remain for at least another three years.

They have a relatively favorable view of their class position. At least half view themselves as middle class and more than a quarter indicate working class status. Approximately three quarters (25% in each class) expect to move to the next highest class position. No one believes that his social class position will decline. On the whole, they attribute similar class designation to their neighbors (middle and working class). Although some tenants believe themselves to be lower class, no one believes his fellow tenants are in that class.

This favorable view of their neighbors' class position is also reflected in their opinion that it is easy to make friends in the project (75%). Yet, as is true in many projects where the tenants express this sentiment, few have friends in the project; and, if they do, these friends are typically located in the building and not elsewhere in the project. Further, they made these friends after they moved into the project. All respondents, however, have friends somewhere--often (50%) in their old neighborhood. They see these friends more than once a week (75%). In light of their relatively high class status, and friends as well as relatives in the greater Boston area whome they see often, it is not surprising that they seldom borrow, if at all (75%). These people tend to divide their time between friends and family.

With regard to the surrounding but limited neighborhood, two thirds reply that they have made contacts. This is somewhat difficult to understand, given the small residential area and the generally higher social and income levels of the people who live there. One explanation might be that a number of these people formerly lived in Brighton - Allston and, therefore, retain ties with their former neighborhood (see above relative to the large proportion who see friends in former neighborhood).

Faneuil residents report that few repairs are needed in their apartments. A large number (509) reported that no repairs are needed. If repairs are needed, they call the manager (75%) who generally responds within a week. Only a few report inaction or insufficient action by the manager. No one reported any discrimination by the manager in rendering maintenance service;

and only some (25%) think that service would be better in a private apartment. But in connection with maintenance of the hallways or recreation areas (or the noise level), better than half expressed dissatisfaction. A frequent complaint (75%) relates to the inadequacy of laundry and recreation facilities.

All of the tenants in this sample were admitted to the project within six months; and, unlike most tenants in other projects, were kept informed of their place on the waiting list. No one had been threatened with eviction but if they were, they would contact either the BHA or a politician--no one would accept the eviction notice passively.

One of the most unique features of this tenant population is that no one reports any fear for their safety or any trouble in the project (whether from intruders or from other tenants). Because the sample does not include the elderly, it might not accurately reflect the range of sentiments on this very sensitive issue (the elderly, however, represent only 7% of the population).

The project does not have a tenants' council. Yet, this relatively content population is very interested in forming or joining one. Specifically, two-thirds would join to change the rules (50% reported an unfavorable view of the regulations), and one half would join to change admission policy. This interest in a council must reflect concern for the project because only 25% belong to outside groups and even fewer expressed an interest in becoming involved. It is not uncommon for projects in which there is a relatively high level of satisfaction and social class to express greater interest in political activity than when the converse is true.

In many of the two-adult households, both parents work at least part time. Given the relatively short time most of these tenants expect to remain (50% for less than a year) and the high level of social mobility, the employment patterns suggest that they are saving money for the day when they are able to move, possibly into their own home. Yet, during their tenure, these tenants are relatively content with this housing project, or at least satisfied enough not to discourage their friends and relatives from moving into the project (75%). Although they would rather own a home, and many expect to do so, they feel that Faneuil is, "Okay until I move elsewhere."

COMMONWEALTH:

THE PROJECT

Commonwealth, situated on Commonwealth Avenue halfway between Boston University and Boston College, could, at first glance, easily be mistaken for any other apartment complex in the mass of other apartment buildings that surround it. The project, however, is not really adjacent to any of these structures that constitute its "neighborhood." The project is set back from and above the street level, and it is surrounded by a chain-link fence. Commonwealth Avenue, a divided four lane thoroughfare with a chain-link fence and trolley tracks along its divided island, forms one boundary of the project. This major artery so clearly separates the project from the apartment complexes on the other side that it is unlikely interaction can take place. The rear of the project, to the north, borders a monestary and a Catholic school. The project is on a generally higher elevation than the area around it, especially on the Brighton Avenue side, where the project descends to the street in a steep slope. Tall grass, as well as cans, glass and other debris litter this slope, extending an open, but dangerous, invitation to children. Although there are asphalt play areas and drying yards behind the project, the dirt baseball field adjacent to the hill in back of the project and the hill itself are the most frequently used play areas. The remaining side of the project, along Washington Street, is the only prtion of the project that is really adjacent to the surrounding residential community. Even from this side, access to the project is

limited. A private, elderly development and a concrete playground intervene.

Along Commonwealth Avenue on the project side, a number of small commercial establishments, consisting of a food store, bar, restaurant and cleaning firm, have been constructed. Across Commonwealth Avenue are also some small, retail businesses. Both sides, however, are predominantly residential.

The project itself consists of thirteen yellow-brick buildings, three, five and seven story structures, divided by a wide, paved road that weaves sinuously through the complex. The two story management office, unlike other buildings in the project, is landscaped with plants and shrubs. Behind this first building, the others rise far above the few small trees planted within the project.

The halls in each building are tiled in blue and beige, and are clean, including the areas around the incinerators. These halls, often a continuation of the playground, are filled with the din of children playing.

The play areas between the buildings are separated from the surrounding sidewalks by a chain link fence. Slides, jungle gyms and modernistic concrete tortoises and dinosaurs, painted in bright colors, are in constant use. Although fenced, a broad, hard-topped play area is covered with bits of shattered glass and other debris. Behind one of the buildings and along the slope stretching toward Brighton Avenue, a large grassy area has been turned into a baseball diamond.

Most of the people on the street and play areas in the project are children. Their shouts and screams reach all parts of the project, perhaps because, by comparison, so little noise emenates from the neighboring residential areas. The general atmosphere of the project is one of a preschool nursery, and the shouts of the children are magnified by the tall buildings which echo their voices. Some young and elderly women resting on benches in the play area talk freely but seem constantly aware of the children.

In general, the project is not of the same quality as the neighborhood which surrounds it. Although this area of Brighton is not affluent, the streets and the grass in the surrounding areas are better maintained and the residential apartment buildings, although not elegant, do not have the same institutional uniformity or blandness that is characteristic of the project.

COMMONWEALTH:

PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

Completed in 1951, the Commonwealth project seems relatively well adapted to its surrounding residential neighborhood. Not only the structures but the project population itself is congruent with the environment. Because the project buildings closely resemble those along Commonwealth Avenue, the introduction of this public housing facility did not intrude architectually into the area, nor has it caused a dramatic shift in population away from the immediate area. For example, although in the decade 1950 to 1960 the area witnessed a moderate decline in population, census tract Y-3B, in which the project is settled, experienced a significant increase.

Other indices suggest similar fluctuations in population characteristics. In all neighboring tracts except Y-3B, the number of married couples decreased, but in the project tract, there was a significant gain (1550 to 1766). Between 1940 and 1950, the Y-3B tract witnessed a sharp decline in the number of children ages five to nineteen; but their number doubled between 1950 and 1960. During the latter decade, Y-3B was also the only tract in the Commonwealth area that manifested significant increases in both single and married persons. And, in every instance, the exaggerated shift seems to have occurred as a result of the project's presence. Given the project population, one expects these population shifts. Predominately a family development, Commonwealth has young couples with children (in addition to a number of elderly).

Housing facilities in the immediate area surrounding Commonwealth Avenue, are, almost without exception, in good condition. Even though these are old apartment buildings, most are brick and well maintained. Although over 12% of the units in census tract Y-3B were classified "dilapidated or deteriorating" in 1960, most of these are not near Commonwealth, but in the sections along North Beacon Street between Market and Cambridge Streets. (These structures are generally older, wooden buildings constructed prior to World War II). There are presently more occupied units than in previous decades (even if the project is not included in the computation). This increase is in no small way prompted by the unusually large number of students who, because two or three live together, can pay relatively higher rentals. As a result, landlords have refurbished and added units to their buildings in order to lure the student market. The tendency is to not necessarily build but to rehabilitate and increase the number of units in existing shelter.

There are, however, some changes that have seem to have accompanied the advent of the project. Median income, high in 1950, showed only moderate gains in 1960 and fell proportionately behind. Furthermore, unemployment, not a significant problem for Commonwealth area residents, is higher in the project area (5.1%) than in the two adjacent census tracts (Y-4, 2.1%; Y-5B, 2.0%). In light of these statistics, it is difficult to reconcile the considerable decrease in the number of families with incomes under $3,000 as well as the sizeable jump in the number of high school and college graduates that occurred between 1950 and 1960. The

latter indices are more representative of this area's character. In addition, they help explain the incongruity of low employment rates and moderate median incomes. Looking to the project, which has witnessed an influx of widows and pensioners, and to the area itself which has also become heavily populated with the elderly, there can be no dispute that this large number of persons who are often unemployed and financially dependent has affected both the employment rate and the median income without correlative changes in the social status of the area's residents.

Quiet, inexpensive apartments, convenient commercial areas, and the proximity to major universities have attracted both the elderly and the college students. Together, these wholly different groups comprise more than one-third of the total area population. Since many of the elderly subsist on Social Security and pensions; and since the students have a limited earning potential, it is not surprising that income measurements suggest a somewhat impoverished area. For employment figures a similar rationale obtains. The elderly are generally unemployed and students, if employed, have only part-time or low-paying positions. Clearly, generalized income and employment statistics alone bear no relationship to the character of Allston - Brighton residents.

In terms of income levels, project tenants compare favorably with neighboring residents, although the project area (Y-3B) has the lowest median income ($5,677), the highest proportion of families with yearly incomes below $3,000, and the fewest number of families earning $10,000 annually. And their educational backgrounds closely resemble each other (70% of the project tenants

have completed high school, and a similar ration holds true for the census tracts surrounding the project). Social rank, a parameter of socio-economic status, is based upon the proportion of adults completing eighth grade and the percentage of blue collar workers. Since in Y-3B the median years of school is 12.1 (as compared with 12.2 and 12.4 for Y-4 and Y-5B, respectively) and the percentage of blue collar workers (42.1%) is moderately low, social rank for Y-3B is significantly high (72). This index suggests further that in spite of low median income and a high proportion of families earning less than $3,000 annually, few serious socio-economic problems exist in the project or the surrounding area.

To assume, however, that most project tenants are not financially dependent upon public housing is to ignore the fundamental reasons for their living in the project in the first instance. Whether because they receive only pensions or social security, whether their households are too large for family income, or whether they have critical economic difficulties, Commonwealth residents find an economic security and convenience in public housing. Yet, in many respects, these people are unique among public housing tenants. For, despite their inability to compete in the open housing market, their income, education and employment levels suggest that many approach a middle class status, not unlike their counterparts in private housing.

COMMONWEALTH:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Situated in a middle class apartment building area, there is little about the appearance of the project or its residents to suggest that they do not belong there. For the tenants in this project, unlike their counterparts in many other projects, are middle class poor.

The project is populated by young families, most often (83%) with a male head of the household present, living next to an almost equal number of elderly. The family groups are comparatively small; 63% have zero to three children, and only 30% have four to nine children. Most of these people are originally from Massachusetts (28%), or from other northern states. Seventy percent of the residents have completed high school (70%). Thus, it is not surprising that unemployment is low.

Compared with other family projects, Commonwealth has the smallest number of families on AFDC (6%). The proportion of families in Allston-Brighton on AFDC is approximately the same as that for Commonwealth (1500 families of 16,796). Although 42% of the tenants receive Social Security, only 6% receive Old Age Assistance.

The middle income character of these tenants is further evidenced by their residence habits. They are relatively stable. Most have been in this project for more than three years (70%) and do not intend to leave for at least another year (84%). They see themselves and their neighbors as middle class, and although they anticipate movement into private housing, they do not expect to move upward (or

downward) socially. Almost all the young families hope to own their own home. For the most part, these people will remain at Commonwealth because it offers an excellent location and relatively good shelter for an inexpensive rental. It is important to remember that they do not reside here because of impoverished circumstances, rather because it enables them to live an otherwise middle-class existence, while they are preparing to move upward financially. As one tenant describes it, living in the project is "good for me because it allows me to enjoy other 'luxuries' by saving on my rent." This is especially true of the elderly who exist on a fixed income, (pensions, Old Age Assistance or Social Security). A measure of overall tenant satisfaction is the overwhelming majority who would help their friends or relatives to move into the project.

Most of the residents (83%) have friends whom they see regularly; often these people are in the same building (53%) or elsewhere in the same project (57%). Many appear to have retained friendships in their former neighborhoods (60%), but a majority (67%) also made friends after moving into the project. It is not surprising, therefore, that these people make friends easily (73%).

The tenants report that there is considerable difficulty in obtaining service from the manager, but that when he eventually responds, the service is often satisfactory. As a result, a large number of tenants resort to self-help (40%), almost as many as call the manager (47%). The "self-helpers" are proportionally higher than in other projects, but so are the number of families with husbands present. The manager is also slow to investigate a problem brought to his attention; in some instances (23%), he does not re-

spond at all. Repairs usually require at least a week (27%), but, in most instances, are sufficient (57%). Service does not appear to be equal throughout the project, since 23% felt that the manager gives better service to certain other tenants. In any event, the great majority believe that if they lived in private housing the service would be better (67%).

As in most projects, the plumbing and electrical systems are most susceptible to malfunctions. Because the plumber had recently died, and had not been replaced, plumbing complaints were unusually high. Thus it is difficult to determine whether their dissatisfaction stems from insufficient maintenance personnel or from managerial indifference. Although complaints about the electrical systems are high, the complaint level on most other matters, except paint, is low (12%).

With regard to other maintenance matters, there is considerable disappointment and criticism. Many tenants decry the inadequate recreation facilities (47%) and especially the lack of care for sidewalks (63%), grass and play areas. Noise (23%) is inevitable in projects because the play areas are immediately adjacent to the buildings. Cleanliness of the hallways (47%) is a subject that provokes heated reactions. Under the regulations, tenants must sweep and clean their own hallways. Because the manager does not enforce this regution; some tenants are lax and the halls become dirty. Field observations support the tenants complaints. It appears that no effort has been made to remove glass from the areas surrounding the buildings.

Most residents waited less than six months to gain admission

to the project and, for the most part, were not informed of their position on the waiting list. They are generally more aware of who actually establishes and amends the rules than most public housing tenants. Most feel that the manager is not petty about enforcing the rules (although many wish he were more vigorous). It appears that the most ominous and ubiquitous threat is eviction for those leaving carriages or shopping carts in the hallways. However, few tenants report that they have ever been actually threatened with eviction.

In contrast to other projects, only one tenant mentions "over-income" as a reason for eviction. This ignorance, if ignorance it be, is surprising in light of their general level of sophistication about the rules. It is probably true that at least some of these tenants are over-income and therefore are affecting ignorance. Yet 63% approve of the present BHA policy of investigating a tenants' income as opposed to accepting his word (or affidavit).

The project is not plagued with serious trouble; but carrousing teenagers do drink in a nearby empty lot and occasionally come into the project without doing any serious harm. Hence, most tenants are not afraid (79%), even though there are no locks on the main floor doors, and almost as many see trouble in the project. Of those who do experience "trouble," only 3% felt that it is caused by those living within the project. In addition, to being a relatively law abiding group, these tenants also manifest a strong sense of responsibility. In response to the question whether there is trouble in the project, one tenant says, "There are too many people around for anything to happen."

Universally, the children are a source of enjoyment to their parents. Good family relations also exist with their relatives in the area, whom they see more often than once a month. In terms of other interaction with the outside community, tenants do participate in organizations outside the project (53%) and most of those who do not, would like to have the opportunity.

If threatened with eviction, most residents say that they would call the BHA (77%). This indicates that the BHA, a beauracratic structure, does not present the same kind of problem for these middle class tenants as it does for those in other projects who are working or lower class. Those who know of other tenants who have been evicted (40%) say that the chief reasons were non-payment of rent (23%) and breaking the regulations (13%).

There is no tenant action group in the project, although there are two tenant social groups; one for mothers and the other for the elderly. However, if a tenants' group were empowered to change admissions policies or to change the rules, 60% would attend.

Almost universally, the residents in this project are in favor of public housing (79% favorable; 20% mixed feelings; and only 3% unfavorable). Aside from the manager's lack of responsiveness, these people, at least comparatively, have little to complain about in public housing.

CHARLESTOWN:

THE PROJECT

The Charlestown Project is bounded on one side by Medford Street with its factories and vacant lots full of rubble from demolished buildings. At one point, the dusty lots turn into a green field with baseball diamonds and the harbor beyond; but, for the most part, this area is abandoned and dusty. The imminence of a new Charlestown middle-income project is emblazoned on a sign in one of these dusty lots. Cement trucks continually thunder into the lot through its open gate.

On the next adjoining side, a huge parking lot, filled with cars from the Naval Shipyard just beyond, stretches the length of the project. The dirty black buildings of the shipyard are separated from the road in front of it by a large chain link fence topped with barb-wire. The naval complex is considerably taller than the project and, therefore, its ugly presence cannot help but intrude. Bordering the project on this side, Decatur Street serves merely as an access to the dusty naval parking lot; Chelsea Street runs parallel to Decatur and alongside the shipyard. It is punctuated with columns that support the Mystic River Bridge, which is so high that the traffic on it cannot be heard below.

At the rear of the project, on Bunker Hill street, and parallel to Medford Street, the area becomes more residential with three-story frame tenements and duplexes as well as small businesses, most of which are in good condition. The Bunker Hill Monument and a two-story public school and a church are on nearby streets.

Polk Street is the shortest street bordering the project and runs from Medford Street, at the front, to Bunker Hill Street at the rear. As Polk Street nears Medford Street, it deteriorates into abandoned, gutted buildings, together with some vacant, dirty lots.

The project itself reflects the abandoned and dusty quality of Medford Street. Within this complex of three-story red-brick buildings, the streets are littered and filled with broken glass. The inner areas have occasional patches of scrubby grass, but otherwise are macadamized. A few shrubs exist, barely surviving the neglect. A number of medium-sized trees near the corner of the project afford some shade, but the residential atmosphere that they might otherwise create is lost--counteracted by the litter on the sidewalks and streets as well as by the general disrepair of neighboring buildings. On the Bunker Hill Street side, however, the shrubbery and grass are more luxuriant and the structure cleaner.

Drying areas in the inner courtyard are not maintained. The recreation areas, like most other sections of the project, are paved and many of the facilities and play articles are broken and the surrounding fences have been pushed to the ground.

Broken windows predominate throughout the project; many of the window frames evidence weather-stained cardboard that appears to have served the purpose of glass for more than one season. The greatest incidence of broken windows occurs in the windows of the stairwells above the entrance halls of each building. Some of these windows are completely missing without even a paper substitute.

The wooden entrance doors are in poor repair, and many of their windows have been broken. Although well lit, the entrance halls are not clean.

Abandoned cars, stray dogs, dirt and litter abound. Benches are available, but the people do not utilize them, possibly because the environment, with its array of filth and litter, is so uninviting.

CHARLESTOWN:

THE PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

No single area has suffered the physical indignities as has Charlestown. Alone, the Mystic River Bridge is a penetrating reminder of the city's chief function--a bridge between Boston proper and the northern suburbs. In addition, one cannot ignore the construction of the Central Artery, Sullivan Square interchange and the widening of Rutherford Avenue--all of which dislocated numerous families and heightened the area's physical decline. Furthermore, these bridges, interchanges and roadways, together with the Mystic and Charles Rivers and the Boston Harbor, effectively isolate Charlestown from adjacent residential areas. Charlestown's insularity is further aggravated because these thoroughfares and waterways by-pass, but do not bring people into, Charlestown. Random location of industries, some of which are only a few blocks from the project, has also played a major role in aggravating an already blighted area. In analyzing these physical intrusions upon residential areas, it is important not to lose sight of population trends that have signaled Charlestown's continuous decline, begun in the early years of the twentieth century, but intensified in the past two decades.

The construction of the Charlestown project in 1940 temporarily stemmed the exodus of people from tracts C-1 (in which the project is situated), C-2 and C-3 (adjacent to the project). In the two decades following the completion of the project, however, the exodus and dislocation of area residents accelerated. Between 1950 and 1960 (excluding the loss of Navy Yard personnel

following the Korean War) more than 2,000 of the project area residents (almost one-third) moved, or were moved, from this section of Charlestown. Recent observations confirm that urban renewal has continued to demolish present structures, further dislocating Charlestown residents. Once the BRA completes its projected redevelopment across from the project, on Medford Street, Charlestown may resume its former residential stability.

Many of those leaving the project area and Charlestown in general have been young adults and large families. The number of young persons (ages 20 to 29) in Charlestown fell from 7,000 to only 2,700 between 1950 and 1960. During this decade, the numbers of children and married couples, even in the project area, decreased significantly. The index, "population per household" manifested a corresponding decline, reflecting not only the movement of families out of Charlestown, but also the departure of many young adults leaving their homes. Intensified dislocation prompted by urban renewal and an out-migration, necessitated by inadequate housing, are the chief factors in this exodus. Single persons are also conspicuously absent in Charlestown for Charlestown is primarily a family area. And, the lack of transient rooming houses has prevented an influx of single persons and transients. The absence of institutions in this predominately residential area, as well as Charlestown's physical insularity, has also resulted in the low number of single or unrelated persons.[1]

1. In 1960, 8% of the Charlestown population lived alone or with other unrelated persons. In contrast, this percentage for the South End is 37%.

Although urban renewal has taken its toll on Charlestown's residential structures, deterioration has equalled the destruction of the wrecker's ball. Of course, by census bureau standards, none of the project units are deteriorating or dilapidated--all have running water, private baths and need no major repairs. Yet, in the areas surrounding the project, age and neglect have threatened, if not destroyed, countless numbers of structures. Sweetser's index of housing quality captures the extent of this decay.[2] Charlestown, despite this decay and the out-migration of area residents, has retained its economic stability. As of 1960, almost 60% of Charlestown families had incomes above $5000. The economic progress that has affected Charlestown generally has not, however, made an impact on the project and adjacent areas. Even in tract C-3, which has the highest median income of the three tracts--$5434, more than one-fifth of the tract population subsist on poverty-level incomes (less than $3,000 annually). The project (tract C-1) has the area's lowest median income; the highest percentage of families earning less than $3000 yearly; and the area's smallest proportion of families receiving incomes in excess of $10,000. Furthermore, the project area has a high unemployment rate (11.6%), a low percentage of residents in professional and managerial positions and a large number of blue collar workers. The project, thus, represents, in the extremes, the extent to which this one area of Charlestown has become economically deprived despite sturdy housing stock.

2. Tracts C-1, 0.8; C-2, 73.3; C-3, 73.1; D-1, 93.4; D-2, 78.3; D-3, 77.6; D-4, 80.4.

In contrast to economic progress, the project area residents exceed the levels of other Charlestown residents in educational achievements. In fact, the project area, C-1, has a greater proportion of high school and college graduates than any other section of Charlestown. In addition, for social rank, an index of employment levels as well as educational achievement, only one tract (C-3) is higher than the project area.[3]

The socio-economic contrasts between project (and project area) tenants and other Charlestown residents indicate that certain inexplicable factors are operating within this community. Economically, Charlestown generally exceeds project area levels. Only in the variables of median income, number of families subsisting on poverty level incomes, and rate of unemployment does the project area fail to meet community values. In housing quality, social rank, and educational levels, the surrounding area, including the project, reveals higher values. Housing quality can be easily explained. However, the contrast in the remaining statistics is an enigma.

The project area represents not only the lowest economic values in Charlestown, but, by comparison, this area suffers from many of the critical economic deprivations that plague project areas in the South End, Roxbury and East Boston. Despite the area's apparent educational superiority (within Charlestown), all other demographic factors indicate that the project (and much of Charlestown) resembles Boston's other poverty-stricken and decaying neighborhoods. Like the South End, Charlestown has been

3. C-1, 53; C-2, 53; C-3, 57; D-1, 27, D-2, 39, D-3, 49, D-4, 39.

wrestling with the problems of physical decay, population migration and urban renewal. And, like the South End projects (Cathedral, Lenox-Camden and Whittier), the Charlestown project has retained its identity with the dying community that surrounds it. Because the project is physically surrounded by the decaying structures and because many displaced Charlestown residents have moved into the project, the Charlestown project retains its physical and social identity with the neighboring community. Unlike the South End area, however, Charlestown must overcome the stigma of the imposing roadways and bridges that have intruded on an otherwise residential area. Even the urban renewal programs planned for much of the area near the project may not restore its residential viability. New housing, schools and recreation areas, accompanied by a population influx into residential areas, must inevitably confront the oppressive presence of the Mystic River Bridge, the Sullivan Square interchange, and the Central Artery. These intrusions and an increasing industrialization that has further insulated Charlestown from other residential areas must be overcome if Charlestown is to become, once again, a residential, family environment.

CHARLESTOWN:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Charlestown, the second largest project, has 1127 families (3,348 people), only 2.6% (18 families) of whom are non-white. Although technically a family projeot, many of these residents are aging couples without children living with them. Approximately half of these families have no minors and 320 receive Social Security. Almost half of the remaining families with minors have only one-adult present. These families with minors are quite large, averaging four to a family and including 1638 minors overall.

This population is stable; almost half have been here longer than three years and half, again, expect to remain longer than five years. Having lived here for a number of years, many of these tenants speak of remaining until they die. Many of them formerly lived in the Charlestown area (49% in their own home) and now, for better or worse, think of the project as their only home and community.

These tenants consider themselves predominantly middle class (49%) with some working class (27%) and a few lower class (12%). However, they do not view their neighbors as favorably. In fact, the number in the lower and middle classes are reversed, only the working class designation remaining the same (52%, lower class; 27%, working class; and only 13% middle class). This negative view suggests a class feeling that may preclude any effective community identity or interaction. (It also reflects the sentiment often expressed, that the project no longer has the same quality that it used to

have, i.e., when other Charlestownians were more prevalent). This class feeling becomes even more important because those who designate themselves lower and working class expect to move to the next highest respective class position.

Despite these class feelings, tenants generally find it easy to make friends in the project (76%), and most (66%) do not keep to themselves. But only 30% have made friends in their building or project after they moved in. An equal number have friends outside of the project. In both instances, they see their friends regularly, at least once a week.

It appears that their important sources of interaction and possibly satisfaction are relatives who live in the metropolitan area, especially Charlestown. The great majority (75%) see these relatives more than once a week (64%). These relatives presumably are the important reference group for class feelings.

The area surrounding the project is also a source of satisfaction, but only for those few tenants who have made friends there. Those who have not, tend to view the neighborhood with mixed (59%) or negative (15%) feelings; and do not know what the neighborhood residents think of them.

These tenants are evenly split on whether there is trouble in the project and yet only 20% do not feel reasonably safe. The explanation for this apparent contradiction is possibly rooted in a number of factors; tenure in the project (many have lived here several years and may thus be conditioned to a higher level of unsafety); the floor on which the tenant lives (those who live on the first floor are invariably less secure because the main doors are not lock-

ed); and the age of the tenant (the elderly often are less frightened because they do not leave their apartment as much). Regardless of the reasons, those who see trouble are also split between those who believe it is caused by outsiders or tenants (in both cases, juveniles are most often cited).

Maintenance problems are a constant and serious irritant for these tenants. These problems are caused, in no small way, by the age (1940) and size of the project. It is interesting to note, however, that although Mary Ellen McCormack is smaller, it is two years older and does not manifest the same high proportion of complaints. The most serious problems are plumbing (48%) and windows (59%) with electrical, plaster, paint and lock problems vying for second place (25%).

Most tenants (59%) call the manager about these problems, but with limited success, not only in terms of inspection (20% promptly and 30% not at all); if he did make repairs, the tenants were generally satisfied (49%). Few tenants (10%) took any further action despite the inadequacy of repairs (it should be remembered that Charlestown has many one-adult (female) families and aged). Despite this general dissatisfaction, only 32% think that maintenance in a private apartment would be better.

Other problems plague Charlestown, however. Unclean hallways (56%), littered sidewalks and grounds (36%), noise (41%) and insufficient recreation areas are the prime targets of tenant dissatisfaction. Teenagers are the people most often scored for creating many of these problems. As might be expected, given the nature of the population, most tenants do not take any action to correct these problems.

With regard to admissions, a typical pattern emerges: most (61%) were admitted within six months and less than half were informed of their place on the waiting list. Several tenants were happy to disclose that they gained admission because of "pull:" a politician, manager or social worker were the most commonly cited resources. One tenant said that he waited two years until he "came into contact with someone who knew someone." These admissions are probably reflective of how most tenants gain admittion; how else explain the almost uniform pattern of less than a six month (often sooner) wait for admission?

Few tenants have ever been threatened with eviction (25%); of those threatened, 7% called the BHA central office and the balance called another source. If threatened, most tenants (46%) would call the BHA and as many as 14% would move out passively. Unlike many other projects, tenants here do not emphasize tenant-management relations as a factor in continuing residence. They report that non-payment of rent (78%) and failure to abide by rules (44%) are the fundamental causes of eviction.

Charlestown does not have a tenants' council that is politically oriented, ie., concerned with the way in which the public housing functions as an institution. At most, it has social clubs: Mothers' Club, Charlestown Youth Athletic Association, and Charlestown Recreation Committee. But, interest in a tenant organization is not lacking. As many as half the tenants would join a council if it could affect admission procedures (41%), or the regulations (49%). Even though they expressed the desire to change the project, possibly through a tenants' council, they

"don't know where to apply the pressure." That this interest in affecting policy is political and not social, can be shown by their lack of participation in outside organizations (19%).

Within the project are many people who have roots in the Charlestown community. They carry this identity with them into the project; it becomes an important factor in shaping their attitudes, especially toward others from different backgrounds. Since its completion in 1940, the project has become less characteristically inhabited by those formerly resident elsewhere in Charlestown. Those who have lived here for years and remember the way it used to be, view the increasing number of outsiders suspiciously. These long-time residents tend to withdraw, forming pockets of friendship throughout the project. The tenant population, therefore, tends to be fractionalized.

Tenant attitudes toward public housing are, therefore, mixed and cautious: 26% react favorably and 21% reacted unfavorably; the balance express no opinion. Yet, they seem to have resigned themselves to the discomforts and disabilities that attend living in the project. Philisophically, they recognize that low rentals allow them to live more comfortably than in private housing. In spite of inadequate facilities, constant maintenance problems, and a less than desirable physical environment, public housing "meets the needs of low-income people." Public housing, in other words, "solves the problem, I have to be satisfied."

DORCHESTER:

INTRODUCTION

Dorchester has traditionally been a cluster of neighborhoods, many with a distinct ethnic composition. The Globe describes it in this way:

> Dorchester is a neighborhood of neighborhoods.
>
> It is a vast expanse of city, a collection of communities, each clustered around a street or a corner or a park that rings with familiarity for generations of Dorchester residents.
>
> Some of these communities are stable; others are changing quickly; some are relatively free from problems; others are deluged with them . . .
> (Globe, p. 34)

Dorchester is named for the immigrants from Dorchester, England who settled here in 1630. It had the first town meeting in the new world in 1633, and the first tax-supported school in 1634. In the seventeenth century, it stretched from South Boston to Rhode Island. By the turn of the 20th century, when the transit line was first extended to Ashmont, Dorchester had become an Irish dominated town with some predominantly Jewish neighborhoods. The Jews came from Chelsea and the South End to settle in Dorchester.

Dorchester stretches south from Edward Everett Square, opposite Columbia Point, to Milton, and extends as far west as Blue Hill Avenue on the Roxbury border, near Franklin Park, and east past the Southeast Expressway to the water.

Dorchester includes 155,000 people, making it the largest section of the city and the fifth largest community in the state. Approximately 26% of the city's population and 24% of its voters

live here. Between 1950 and 1960, its population decreased at a lower rate than that for Boston (8.2% and 13.0%, respectively). However, the nature of the population has changed; in-migration has kept apace with out-migration but is different in content.

Prompted in part by urban renewal in the South End, Puerto Ricans and blacks in recent years have begun to move into Dorchester in larger numbers than into any other area of the city. In particular, they have moved into the northernmost part of Dorchester, closest to the South End and Roxbury. Their presence is resented by the older Irish and Jewish population who have responded by leaving in increasingly larger numbers. They complain of higher crime rates and lower real estate values. The blacks and Puerto Ricans point to discrimination and exploitation by white landlords and merchants. Consequently, the most difficult problem facing the area is racial tension. The exodus of whites itself has further reduced real estate values.

> We have very strong evidence that real estate firms are acting against the better interests of Mattapan. When a Negro moves onto a street, certain real estate agents will simply call everyone on the street and ask if they want to sell their houses. We know of a couple of areas where whites wanted to buy and were discouraged. A quick racial turnover is financially beneficial to these real estate people. We're sure going to try to stop this practice . . . Mark Israel, Dorchester-Mattapan Civic Assoc.
>
> (Globe, p. 36)

It is estimated by APAC that between 1960 and 1968 the black population had doubled (from 10,968 in this area to 23,107). This dramatic shift in population, in some instances totally reversing the racial and class content of a census tract, renders the 1960 census next to meaningless for the area. Because of the large

number of poor white as well as poor black families, this area has been selected by ABCD as a target area for anti-poverty efforts.[1]

APAC reports a significant finding with regard to some components of the recent immigration. The astronomical rise in black population did not involve displaced, hard-core poor--the victims of urban renewal; in fact, it appears that some were upwardly mobile but could not find adequate shelter in the South End or Roxbury in the 1950's. More suitable shelter was becoming available in Dorchester because the middle-class Irish and Jewish families were leaving for the suburban areas.

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1. The local welfare office reports an increase of 4090 in welfare cases during the past five years. Moreover, the recent in-migration has coincided with a decline in sound shelter. Almost all of the housing in Dorchester was constructed before 1930.

FRANKLIN HILL:

THE PROJECT

Built in 1952, Franklin Hill is a small project whose nine buildings form a rectangle on a hill overlooking Blue Hill Avenue. Six of the buildings form three central squares, each with a recreation area. These squares provide the focal point of the project. One building stands outside these three central squares, and two are separated from the other seven buildings by an intervening road.

These nine buildings are in good shape. The windows all have screens and the moldings have been painted recently. The hallway entrance doors are metal with two windows near the top, allowing enough light to illuminate the hallway. The halls are clean, but evidence writing on the walls. Although the doors have been scraped in places, they are in good condition.

Few tenants can be seen on the streets; children play quietly in the recreation area where a sprinkler pond is located. Most people are black and poorly dressed.

Franklin Hill Avenue runs along one side of the project rectangle. Across this avenue are well-kept apartment buildings. On the other side of the rectangle, along Angell Street, the project is separated from three decker frame apartment buildings by a chain link fence. The terrain of these buildings is much lower than that of the project.

The two buildings that are separated from the rest of the project by Shandon Street are at the very top of the hill and overlook Blue Hill Avenue and Franklin Field beyond. At the

other end of the project, the American Legion Highway, a busy, divided highway, borders a beautiful park with many shade trees. Attractive private apartment buildings run along this highway on either side of the project.

The project, then, has attractive apartment buildings on one side; a hill overlooking Franklin Field on the next side; other residential buildings on the adjoining side; and a park on its fourth side. From Blue Hill Avenue one must ascend a steep road that rises out of a shabby business area, along a busy thoroughfare, into a quiet, residential section of Dorchester. The isolation imposed on the project by its location on this hill lends a suburban, residential atmosphere. This isolation appears to keep the world out more than it keeps the tenants in.

FRANKLIN HILL:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Franklin Hill tends to be characterized, on one hand, by elderly whites, and on the other, by young two-adult white families and fewer but larger one-adult black families. Children represent nearly half of the population. The adults are typically between thirty and forty years of age. As a general rule, most have completed high school or eigth grade. However, the general employment level is low, reflecting in no small way the number of elderly and one-adult (female) families. Based on the proportion of all black families in the family projects (32%), this project, unlike most of the others, is integrated.

Although many of these residents were raised in the South (32%), most are native to Massachusetts (47%) or the North (21%). And those from northern areas lived in an urban environment as opposed to those from the South who lived in rural setting. None of the tenants report that they lived in their own home prior to moving into the project; but 79% lived in a private apartment and the balance in another project. Although most of the tenants have lived in Franklin Hill longer than a year (47% longer than 3 years), a substantial number of residents are relatively new to the project (26% under one year). Tenants do not express much optimism about leaving the project. As many as 63% respond that they intend to live here longer than five years. This response is somewhat surprising in light of the equal number who report their class position as middle class (the remainder: working class, 6%; lower class, 11%) and a lesser but substantial number (37%) who expect to move into the upper class. However, half of them do not expect to move from their self-designated middle class

position. Their appraisal of fellow tenants is even more interesting. Almost half believe these other tenants are working class (42%) or lower class (21%), or, in other words, beneath them socially.

These apparent class feelings may reflect on the fact that, although they report ease in making friends in or out of the project (90%), few of them have friends in the project or elsewhere. They tend to keep to themselves (79%)--possibly because of the felt social class distance. Yet, over half hold a favorable opinion of their fellow tenants. Those who have friends (21%), indicate that they are located in the building or in the project (11%) and only 5% elsewhere in the city. These friendships appear to be strong since they see each other at least once a week, if not more often, and borrow frequently from each other.

This isolation also applies to their interaction with the surrounding residential area. Most (63%) report having no contact with the neighborhood, and either do not have an opinion of these people or view them unfavorably. When asked what these people think of the project, 84% expressed no opinion. Some report that they make contact with people in the neighborhood, but it appears that these friendships antedate their public housing tenure; more specifically, they were made in their former neighborhood.

These tenants, however, do not appear to want for interaction. For most (79%) have relatives living in the Boston area whom they see at least once a week. Yet, they do not belong to outside organizations (90%) and only some (20%) express interest. As a result, other than these visits with relatives, they tend to be with their children or spouses. More often than not, their children give them satisfaction and not grief.

Even though they do not interact much with other tenants, they feel safe in the project (84%) and believe it is generally free of trouble (3%). Yet, they do think that to the extent that there is trouble, it is caused more often by other tenants than by outsiders. As is the case in most projects, they feel that this anti-social activity comes from teenagers. These disturbances, however, do not shake their faith that they feel safer in the project--"If anything happens, I am near people."

The tenants are relatively unbothered by maintenance problems. Plumbing, a common problem, is noted most often (31%), but with regard to almost all other matters--windows, appliances, electric--the response is minimal (10% or less). In fact, as many as 26% express no difficulties. One problem in particular deserves specific mention: roaches. It appears that when a tenant reports their presence, his apartment, and not the building, is exterminated. As a result, the roaches tend to reappear in that apartment or yet another.

If maintenance problems arise in their apartment, the tenants tend to call the manager (32%) rather than take care of the matter themselves (11%). In most instances, the manager will respond by inspecting immediately or within a week. However, he is not as responsive in making the needed repairs revealed by the inspection. If he does the work, the tenants are generally satisfied. Universally, they believe that other tenants do not get better service; and most believe that service would not be better in a private apartment (63%).

With regard to the adequacy of facilities and maintenance of the common areas of the project, an entirely different sentiment is manifested. The lack of sufficient laundry facilities and recreation areas are most often cited (30%). Unkept sidewalks, hallways and streets appear to be most troubling. The tenants note their attempts to do something about these concerns, but to no avail.

Two thirds of the tenants gained admission to the project within six months after their application. Virtually no one was kept informed of his place on the waiting list.

The manager is erroneously believed to be the one empowered to make and change the rules (75%). In this connection, more than half (58%) do not know what the BHA does. If they do know, they did not learn it from the manager. These misapprehensions are generally higher than in most projects. Thus, it is not surprising that most tenants believe that they can be evicted for not "getting along" with the manager or with other tenants (this possibly reflects in some way on the absence of social interaction). Yet, almost no one (90%) has been threatened with eviction and only a somewhat larger number (21%) know of anyone who has been evicted. However, they believe that the evictions were caused by the tenants inability to "get along" with the manager. If threatened with eviction, none would leave passively. They would take some action; in particular, contact the BHA (74%). Hence, there is some awareness that the manager is subject to, ultimately, the BHA.

There is no tenants' council at Franklin Hill. Yet, two thirds would attend a tenants' council if, among other things, it were empowered to change admission policies or the regulations. In

addition to improving maintenance and facilities, they are overwhelmingly opposed (90%) to the rule that requires management to investigate their income. The dissatisfaction implicit in this expression of interest in changing policy can also be seen in their desire to own a home (74%). In fact, almost no one would apply his rent toward purchase of an apartment in public housing. Nor would most encourage their friends or relatives to move into the project.

When asked their opinion of public housing, only a third expressed a positive view. Although there is no deep-seated hatred, many felt that it is merely a "cheap place to live until something better comes along." Whether this feeling is prompted by dissatisfaction with specific aspects of project life or merely reflects an expected upward mobility cannot be determined until further analysis is done on the data.

FRANKLIN FIELD:

THE PROJECT

Franklin Field is a large project consisting of nineteen red-brick buildings. Some of the bricks are slightly discolored by a white errosion. This discoloration detracts from the buildings, making them appear older and shabbier. The buildings are all three stories, and form a half circle with one part of the diameter cut off by a street (Westview).

Along the straight edge of the half circle is the Westview Street Extension, across which is a huge, grass field with a hard-topped recreation area built into one corner, including a basketball court. In addition, several baseball diamonds have been inscribed in the field which is approximately two square blocks in size. An MDC skating rink and swimming pool can be found on the far side of the field.

Along the curved portion of the half circle is Stratton Street and two family frame houses in generally good condition. The half circle is cut off by single family homes, some of which have been condemned along Westview Street, Stratton Street and the West View Extension (a continuation of West View), meeting at the rear of the project at the Franklin Field Extension for the Elderly. The extension is at the bottom of a small hill and is bordered on one side by grassy areas and on the other by a cemetery. This extension is comprised of twenty two-story brick structures, and is in strikingly newer and better condition than those in Franklin Field. Unlike Franklin Field, moreover, the buildings are not defaced or marred by litter.

Ames Street winds tortuously through the project. It is wide and well kept. The buildings border this street but face each other in pairs with space in between devoted to parking, drying and play yards. Inside the play yards, "Tot" areas have been fenced so that little children may play safely. The parking areas are filled with glass. These facilities tend to fill their small areas, leaving room for little else.

The buildings are grim. A few trees and saplings, protected by chain link cages around their trunks, are not sufficient to alleviate the barreness that the absence of grass permits. Small patches of grass, protected by low green bar fences, do appear in front of each building. The rest is asphalt.

The halls are clean and do not exude any foul aromas. The incinerators in the hallways are free of litter. The doors to the buildings are wooden and in good repair. Two windows at the top of each door provide the only source of light for the hallways during the day. Many of these windows have been broken and have been repaired only with cardboard or paper.

Although the project is reasonably well maintained, a dull, heavy quality pervades. The adjoining field does not relieve the monotony of brick and morter. Few curtains appear in the windows of the apartments. Instead, most have shades that are drawn tightly.

Few people appear on these streets. Those who do are black children who play in or around the recreation areas. Despite its size, the project manifests very few signs of life. This effect is heightened by the tightly-drawn shades and dismal, dark entrance

halls. An illusion of tenant depression and lifelessness emerges. As a result, even the absence of litter on the walks leads one to conclude that there is not even enough life to generate it.

FRANKLIN FIELD:

TENANT ATTITUDES

Franklin Field bears a striking demographic resemblance to Franklin Hill. Once again, the elderly are primarily white and family composition follows essentially the same pattern: larger but fewer black families, but with many black and white families having only one-adult (female). This project is also proportionately integrated (31%) given the number of all black families in Boston public housing (32%).

Not unlike the tenants in Franklin Hill, these people are predominantly from an urban area in the North, particularly Massachusetts. Prior to moving into this project, the largest number (75%) lived in a private apartment and the balance lived either in another project or owned their own home.

The majority have been living in the project from one to three years (some [13%] for more than three years) and expect to remain longer than one year (29% expect to stay for more than five years).

They generally see themselves and their neighbors as having lower class (63%) or working class (29%) status. Only 8% indicate middle class status. However, almost two thirds believe that they will become socially mobile upward.

As in Franklin Hill, the tenants report that they not only make friends easily in the project, but outside as well. In addition, they similarly indicate an absence of friends in the project or outside. Those who have friends, whether inside or outside of the project, see them often. A further parallel exists

in the negative or mixed feelings toward fellow residents: only 23% express a positive feeling and as many as half express mixed feelings.

Another similarity to Franklin Hill also occurs in connection with their involvement in the surrounding neighborhood. They, too, have few, if any, friends in the area. Moreover, they also express no opinion or mixed feelings. With regard to their feeling about the neighbors' sentiment toward the project, the universal response is "no opinion" (96%). The same lack of interest in organizations outside the project also prevails--as well as an absence of desire to become involved were the opportunity to present itself.

The parallel continues. Most of the tenants (79%) also have relatives in the area and see them at least once a week. The availability of these relatives suggests that many of the tenants may have come from the area prior to moving into the project (however, the absence of friends in the area tends to suggest not). The relatives may provide important emotional and even possibly financial support, thus reducing the need, or at least the importance, of social ties within the project. These ties may also be the cause for large incidence of expected social mobility.

The tenants do not feel unsafe (88%) or perceive much trouble in the project (65%). To the extent that they perceive trouble, they tend to attribute it to other tenants. Here, as in Franklin Hill, the tenants feel reasonably secure; yet the police report a reasonably high rate of crime in the area. One tenant comment may go a long way toward explaining this inconsistency: "I keep my door locked."

The tenants do not reveal any significant disaatisfaction with the maintenance problems (8%, plumbing; 13%, electric; 4% windows; 8%, locks and 33%, no problems). Nor were there any complaints about noise, cleanliness of the hallways or grounds. They did, however, express a desire for improved laundry facilities and recreation areas. The absence of maintenance problems and the corresponding absence of commentary about managerial responsiveness does not seem possible. But, approximately two-thirds of the tenants feel that service would not be better in private housing or that any other tenants get better service than they do.

Some additional insights about tenant-management relations are revealed in the tenant responses to questions about eviction. Although they universally (96%) cite non-payment, a large number (58%) believe that a failure to get along with the manager or with other tenants would also serve as the basis of an eviction. In this connection, most (79%) inevatably believe that the manager and not the BHA makes and changes the rules. These tenants attribute more power to their manager than tenants in any other project. In addition, they rank high in the lack of knowledge about the BHA function. Approximately two-thirds of the tenants have never been threatened with eviction, but know of others who have been evicted (47%--high relative to other projects). If threatened with eviction, the great majority (67%) would call the BHA, and none would move without taking some preventative measures.

No tenants' council exists in Franklin Field and, in general, there is no substantial sentiment for creating one. Approximately 80% indicated that there is nothing that they wanted a tenants' council to do. However, some (27%) might form one if it were possible to change the rules on admissions policies.

When asked directly, these tenants express a generally favorable view of public housing (61%, favorable; 30%, unfavorable). Yet, all reject the notion of public housing rental and an overwhelming number (84%) would rather own a home. Moreover, only some (25%) would help their friends or relatives to move into the project. As one tenant remarked: "It's a cheap place to live. It serves the purpose."

SECTION II

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS
BASED ON
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS
OF RESEARCH DATA

INTRODUCTION

Middle-class misconceptions of the "culture of poverty" have traditionally focused upon the nature of family interaction, attitudes toward child rearing and illegitimacy, and achievement motivation. In particular, notions that the poor are lazy, that lower-class women prefer submissive husbands, that the poor admire pre-marital pregnancy and refuse to utilize birth-control services, and that blacks are happy with their social positions. In extreme forms, middle-class misconceptions of lower-class behavior patterns have been racist in content and violent in style. Discrimination and prejudice often have been justified by the aggressor on the basis of erroneous information regarding members of the out-group. These misconceptions are learned as stereotypes regarding members of the lower-class and of diverse minorities that can be passed from generation to generation by means of socialization during childhood.

Information that is gained by means of systematic and objective analysis of the culture of poverty may counteract the influence of middle-class misconceptions about lower-class styles of life. With this underlying assumption as a fundamental guide, the following sections explore several aspects of life among the poor, as it occurs in the natural setting of the public housing project. The focus upon the housing unit has the distinct advantage of drawing attention to the interaction of the diverse forces that simultaneously impinge upon any given individual in the culture of poverty to produce a particular effect. In addition, this

focus enables the investigator to examine the influence on patterns of behavior of one of the least explored but potentially most useful dependent variables: the nature of man's housing environment.

The following data was collected in a 5% sample (no. = 597) of the family units in the twenty-five family projects in Boston, Massachusetts. The data was collected by apartment-to-apartment interviewing by a staff of professionally trained interviewers. Various controls were imposed (e.g., the race of the interviewer was matched with that of the respondent). A judgment sample was adopted. The representativeness of the data collected has been verified by comparing the proportions of many groupings in the sample with their corresponding proportions as revealed in Boston Housing Authority reports.

The section is divided in the following way:

1) The relationship between the welfare recipient and bureaucracy
2) The relationship between social interaction and satisfaction with public housing
3) The influence of racial composition of public housing and satisfaction with the project
4) the perception of the project as a safe place to live
5) The link between collectivity--orientation and project satisfaction, and
6) Characteristics of politically active tenants.

THE WELFARE RECIPIENT AND BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucratic systems are the key medium through which the middle class maintains its advantaged position vis-a-vis the lower class; that is, bureaucratic organization tends to sustain social stratification.[1] For example, in educational and welfare client-centered bureaucracies, service tends to become increasinly more inadequate as one moves down the socio-economic ladder among those whom the organization has been established to service.[2] Not only do client-centered bureaucracies neglest lower-class clients, but they also tend to avoid those in the lower-class who appear likely to handicap the attainment of organizational goals.

At the same time that the client-centered bureaucracy may overlook its lower-class clients, the lower-class clients themselves simply lack knowledge of the organizational "rules of the game."

The lower-class person frequently is unaware of the system's technicalities and structural arrangements that might be used successfully to manipulate a bureaucracy to his advantage. Unlike the bureaucrat who administers rules according to impersonal, universalistic norms of procedure, the lower-class client typically relates to others within a highly personal context and avoids dealing with the impersonal middle-class world of bureaucracy. Thus, it is difficult for the lower-class person to acquire substantial knowledge of how the system operates. This, in turn, often leads to alienation and a sense of fatalism about events in the social sphere.

These conclusions have far reaching implications for policy formulation. These implications will be explored in greater detail in a final report to appear later in the year. But it should be

noted here that the failure to "incorporate" the welfare recipient into the public housing community not only has negative personal effects on the recipient and her family, but contributes to a breakdown of cohesiveness and solidarity among tenants. For the recipient is alienated from and often frightened by the system, driving her further into personal isolation.

FINDING: TENANTS WHO RECEIVE WELFARE ARE LESS LIKELY TO OBTAIN ADEQUATE HOUSING-RELATED SERVICES THAN TENANTS WHO DO NOT RECEIVE WELFARE.

One of the most salient characteristics of the lower-class "culture of poverty" is the degree to which welfare must be relied upon as the chief source of income. Almost 25 per cent of the residents of public housing projects in the Greater Boston area are currently receiving welfare payments. This finding is indicative not only of the large extent to which the lower-class is represented in public housing, also of the extent to which the lower class is dependent in very basic ways upon the middle-class bureacratic structure.

Generalizations regarding the relationship between client-centered bureaucracy and the lower-class apply quite accurately to the specific case of the welfare recipient in public housing. Welfare recipients report having to wait a significantly longer period of time to gain admission into a housing project than non-recipients (Chi Square = 13.3, df = 3, $p < .005$). Moreover, welfare recipients apparently are less frequently informed about the availability of a housing unit in relation to their position on a waiting list (Chi Square = 7.95, df =1, $p < .005$).

Differential treatment does not end once the welfare recipient has been accepted as a tenant. Preliminary data indicate that management concern about housing-related problems is sharply lower for welfare recipients than for non-recipients (see Table 1). In answer to the question, "Did management come to inspect the problem after you called them?" about 60 per cent of the welfare recipients as compared with only about 45% of the non-recipients responded,"No". On the other hand, only 16 per cent of tenants receiving welfare whereas 26 per cent of those tenants not receiving welfare reported that the management inspected immediately.

It is interesting to note that relative neglect of tenants receiving welfare did not seem to affect the welfare recipient's view of public versus private housing. When asked "Do you think service would be better if you lived in an apartment house that wasn't in the project" welfare recipients were more likely than non-recipients to answer "No". It is apparent that within the fram of reference of the welfare recipient, sound private housing is either not available at low cost, or if it is their welfare status often deters prospective landlords. Ther service inconveniences in public housing are therefore relatively minor what is often an even more unsavory alternative in private housing.

TABLE 1

INSPECTION OF PROBLEMS BY WELFARE STATUS*

		WELFARE RECIPIENT?	
		YES	NO
"Did Management come	NO	61%	46%
to inspect the problem	IMMEDIATELY	16	26
after you called them.	TO A WEEK	10	17
	TO A MONTH	6	4
	OVER A MONTH	7	7
		100%	100%
	(N=)	(140)	(248)

*Chi-Square = 11.09, df = 4, $p < .02$, two-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .17

FINDING: TENANTS WHO RECEIVE WELFARE ARE LESS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE BUREAUCRATIC POWER STRUCTURE THAN TENANTS WHO DO NOT RECEIVE WELFARE.

It has already been noted that the lower class client tends to lack knowledge of the organizational "rules of the game." This proposition apparently obtained for the welfare recipient in public housing (although at a borderline level of statistical significance). For example, when asked, "Who makes the rules around here?" 52 per cent of the welfare recipients name the management whereas only 43 per cent believe the housing authority is responsible. Exactly the opposite findings appear for the non-recipients, who tend instead, to identify rule-making functions with the housing authority rather than with the management. This data is presented in Table 2.

In a similar manner, welfare recipients express a rather localized view of the rule-changing process. When asked, "How can the rules be changed?" welfare recipients indicate that changes in the rules originate with the management, whereas non-recipients tend correctly to perceive the source of change at higher levels of bureaucratic decision-making (the Housing Authority).*

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*Chi-Square = 6.97, df = 4, $p < .07$, one-tailed test. The boarderline levels of statistical significance obtained here are viewed in the context of a high level of consistency among related questionnaire items. Consistency across related items lends additional credibility to the findings. Further analysis of the relationship as controlled by education of respondent yielded a conventionally acceptable level of significance (.05) for respondents

TABLE 2

"WHO MAKES THE RULES?" BY WELFARE STATUS

		WELFARE RECIPIENT?*	
		YES	NO
	Management	52%	43%
"Who makes the rules around here?"	Housing Authority	43	51
	State Legislature	1	2
	Fed. Legislature	2	1
	Other	2	3
		100%	100%
	N =	(205)	(336)

*Chi Square = 6.26. df - 4, $p < .09$, one-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .11

who scored low on the educational variable. Apparently, the more educated welfare recipients had a broader and more realistic view of bureaucratic structure.

FINDING: TENANTS WHO RECEIVE WELFARE ARE MORE ACTIVE ON A LOCAL POLITICAL LEVEL THAN TENANTS WHO DO NOT RECEIVE WELFARE.

Welfare recipients consistently indicate a willingness to participate actively in local tenant councils. A substantial proportion of recipients (61 per cent versus only 40 per cent of non-recipients) report having attended meetings. This data is represented in Table 3.

In a highly consistent fashion, welfare recipients report having heard of tenants' council to a significantly greater extent than non-recipients (Chi Square = 34.03, df = f, $p < .001$). Furthermore, welfare recipients are significantly more willing to attend meetings on a weekly basis "if a tenants' council were set up and the tenants could decide who would be admitted to the project, "or" if a tenants' council were set up and the tenants could change the housing regulations." To determine who would be admitted to the project, 46 per cent of the recipients compared with only 30 per cent of the non-recipients expressed willingness to attend meetings (Chi Square = 10.83, df =2, $p < .005$). To change housing regulations, 66 per cent of the recipients whereas only 41 percent of the non-recipients report that they would attend weekly meetings of a tenants' council (Chi-Square = 33.34, df = 2, $p < .0001$).

Contrary to the popularized image of the welfare recipient as a totally alienated and politacally apathetic member of society,

TABLE 3

MEETING ATTENDANCE BY WELFARE STATUS

		WELFARE RECIPIENT?*	
		YES	NO
"Have you ever attended meetings?"	YES	61%	40%
	NO**	39	60
		100%	100%
	(N =)	(L20)	(148)

*Chi Square = 160.60, df = 4, $p < .002$, two-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .25

**"NO" category was constructed from the following series of sub-categories originally used in the Chi Square analysis of these data: 1) "no, Too Busy, 2) "No, Not interested," 3) "No, Doesn't Do Anything." and 4) "No, Other Reason."

the data obtained in the present study would suggest strongly that the typical welfare recipient in public housing is relatively active on a local political level. However, the effectiveness of such a localized strategy for personal goals which might be fulfilled by political activism on the part of the welfare recipient apparently is minimized by an overwhelming lack of prespective in the highly complex world of bureaucratized decision-making. Our data suggest that the welfare recipient is not able to link local political activism with bureaucratic structure. Instead, local participation may provide the means whereby only limited social goals can be gratified: participation in a tenant council may constitute a primary source of social interaction and a chief outlet for the expression of frustrated needs; it may be a good place to meet like-minded friends who can discuss common problems.. At any rate, the tenant council as the focus of political activism is consistent with the political style of the lower-class according to which social interaction occurs within a highly personal context. This style is in marked contrast to the impersonalized middle-class world of bureaucratic systems.

II SOCIAL INTERACTION AND PROJECT SATISFACTION

Social welfare practioners have long been concerned with the mechanisms that foster neighborliness and community satisfaction. This interest may reflect the mobile nature of contemporary society and the changing character of community interaction.[3]

In this paper, the focus is upon presumably important group attributes for speeding or mainting integration and cohesion, as they apply to satisfaction with public housing. At least three such attributes have been suggested elsewhere. The presence of

TABLE 4

FRIENDSHIP NORMS AND OPINION OF NEIGHBORS*

	FRIENDSHIP NORMS	
Opinion of Neighbors:	Present	Absent
Favorable	62%	39%
Unfavorable	12	21
Mixed	26	40
	100%	100%
(N =)	(413)	(57)

*Chi Square = 11.51, df = 2, $p < .003$, two-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .16

positive group norms toward integrating the members (i.e., friendship); 2)The avoidance of competition between significant primary groups (e.g. family and neighborhood); and 3) the use of localized voluntary associations.

FINDING: THE PRESENCE OF POSITIVE GROUP NORMS TOWARD FRIENDSHIP TENDS TO INCREASE NEIGHBORLINESS AND SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE PROJECT.

To determine the existence of friendship norms, the question was asked of each respondent: "Do you think that it is easy to make friends in the project or do you think it is hard?" The assumption underlying this item is that verbal reports of project friendliness would indicate the extent to which friendship norms were present in any given project.

Our expression of neighborhood cohesion is a favorable opinion of immediate neighbors. Responses to the open-ended questionnaire item, "What do you think of your neighbors?" were categorized as either "favorable," "unfavorable," or "mixed." As presented in Table 4, a more favorable opinion of neighbors was expressed when tenants found it easy to make friends in the project. When friendship norms were present (easy to make friends), 62 per cent expressed a favorable opinion of neighbors: where friendship norms were absent (hard to make friends), only 39 per cent expressed a favorable opinion of neighbors.

In a consistent fashion, friendship norms determined the extent to which neighborhood borrowing occurred. Under the "easy to make friends" condition, 45 per cent of the tenants reported borrowing from neighbors in the same buildings, whereas under the "hard to make friends" condition, only 23 per cent reported borrowing within the

building (chi Square = 13.85, df = 3, $p < .003$). Findings regarding the relationship between friendship norms and neighborliness apply to most categories of respondents regardless of race, welfare status, educational level,or racial composition of the project. At the same time, however, these results seem to apply relatively strongly to the predominantly black public housing projects and to respondents with low levels of education.*

FINDING: SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH GROUPS OUTSIDE OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT TENDS TO INCREASE SATISFACTION WITH THE PROJECT.

Findings obtained in the present study do not support the contention often advocated by social scientists[5] that primary groups** outside of the immediate neighborhood "compete" with primary groups within the immediate neighborhood to decrease the internal cohesion of that neighborhood. On the contrary, our data indicate that tenants who belong to friendship groups both within and outside of the project are most satisfied with that project.

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* Statistical controls were constructed in the form of three-way tables in which the relationship could be biewed separately for each category of the control variable introduced.

** The concept "primary group" is used here to refer to those intimate, face-to-face small groups of friends, family, or neighbors to which the individual tenant feels a sense of belongingness.

To obtain a measure of general satisfaction with the project, respondents were asked, "what in general is your feeling about public housing?" The unstructured responses to this question were categorized on an eight-point scale from estremely favorable to extremely unfavorable.* The resulting scores of satisfaction with public housing were analyzed by location of friends.

As shown in Table 5, the greatest satisfaction with public housing occurrs when tenants report having friends both inside and outside the project. The least satisfaction resulted when an absence of friendship inter-action was reported.

An analysis of ther questionnaire item, "Do you belong to any groups or organizations or activities that are not in the project?" yielded closely similar results. It was determined that tenants belonging to outside groups expressed significantly greater satisfaction with the porject than tenants not involved with outside groups ($F = 3.65$, $df = 1/539$, $p < .05$). Several additional analyses of the possible influence of involvment with outside groups and organizations upon project cohesion failed to uncover a single piece of evidence to relate outside involvment with project dissatisfaction of any kind. Overall, preliminary data lend considerable support to the notion that social interaction both within and outside of the project promotes internal cohesion.

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* The universe of responses were scaled by the method of paired-comparisons, See, Robert C. North, et. Al., CONTENT ANAYLSIS: A Handbook with Applications For The Study Of International Crisis, (Chicago: Northwestern U. Press, 1963). See, Also, F. Earle Barcus and Jack Levin, "Role Distance in Negro

TABLE 5

SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC HOUSING SCORES

BY LOCATION OF FRIENDS*

Location of Friends:	Mean Scores**
Inside the Project only	4.77
Both Inside and Outside	5.34
Outside the Project Only	4.89
No Friends	4.29

*F (Analysis of Variance) = 8.85, df = 3/537, $p < .001$

**The table can be read as follows: The higher the mean score the more satisfaction with public housing in the groups located at the left.

and Majority Fiction," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 43 (Winter, 1966), pp. 709-714.

For example, the most favorable opinions of neighbors were expressed by tenants whose friends were located both within and outside of the projects (Chi Square = 28.84, df = 6, $p < .0001$). Similarly, neighborhood borrowing was reported significantly more often by tenants with friends located either inside the project or both inside and outside of the project (chi Square = 53.96, df = 9, $p < .0001$).

Preliminary control data indicate that for the most part these findings can be generalized across race social classes, educational levels, welfare status,and the racial composition of projects. However, the relationship to be greater in predominantly black and racially integrated housing projects than in predominantly white projects. In white projects, contact with the community does not seem as important a variable.

The location of extended kin has a different effect on project satisfaction than does the presence of other outside groups. Overall, the location of extended kin does not significantly influence the internal cohesion of the project (as expressed in the opinion of neighbors or the amount of borrowing among neighbors). On the other hand,when asked, "If the Housing Authority allowed the tenants to apply their rent toward buying the apartment they are living in, would you buy this apartment?" these tenants whose relatives were located in the project indicated a significantly higher interest in purchasing an apartment than tenants whose relatives were located outside of the project (Chi Square = 6.60, df = 2, $p < .03$). This

finding raises the interesting possibility that extended kin may serve as an additional economic resource for the family in public housing. It has already been established, both here and elsewhere, that primary groups of friends (non-relatives) provide important social contexts of expressive activity.[5] It would appear likely that extended kin perform a more instrumental function among lower-class public housing tenants. Additional data for this notion can be seen in the finding that the relationship between location of kin and desire to purchase the apartment holds only for black tenants and only for those tenants who are presently recipients of welfare; that is, the members of those groups who are in greatest need of additional economic resources.

FINDING: PARTICIPATION IN TENANTS' COUNCILS TENDS TO INCREASE SATISFACTION WITH THE PROJECT.

Even the sketchiest of our preliminary data strongly confirms the conclusion that participation in a tenant council is the Single most important determinant of satisfaction with public housing as well as of neighborhood cohesion. The results of an analysis of variance of project satisfaction scores indicates that tenants who had particiated in tenants' council were significantly more satisfied with public housing than tenants who had not participated ($F = 19.72$, $df = 1/540$, $p < .0001$).

As presented in Table 6, participation in a tenants' council was accompanied by a substantially more favorable opinion of neighbors in the project. Only 6 per cent of those who attended meetings expressed an unfavorable opinion of neighbors whereas 21 per cent of those not attending expressed an unfavorable opinion.

TABLE 6

OPINION OF NEIGHBORS BY ATTENDANCE AT COUNCIL MEETINGS*

	Have attended Meetings?	
Opinion of Neighbors:	Attended	Not Attended
Favorable	64%	51%
Mixed	30	28
Unfavorable	6	21
	100%	100%
(N =)	(262)	(217)

*Chi Square = 24.34, df = 2, $P < .0001$, two-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .23

The influence of attendance upon neighborhood borrowing was profound. When asked, "Do you and your neighbors in the building ever borrow?" 52 per cent of the attenders said "yes", as compared with only 31 per cent of the non-attenders (Chi Square = 26.81; df = 3, $p < .0001$).* This finding was consistent with several related anaylsis in which it was ascertained that attendance predisposed the tenant toward satisfaction with his neighbors, his apartment unit, and with concept of "public housing" itself. Controlling statistically for the influence of race, class, education, welfare status, and racial composition of project indicated that these results are generalizable to most of the sub-categories of the public housing population.

Findings bearing on the relationahip between social interaction and project satisfaction can be summarized in three parts. First, the presence of friendship norms had a substantial positive influence on neighborhood relations with in the projects. Second, and contrary to traditional thinking in this area of study, primary groups outside of the project did not "compete" for the loyalty of tenants, but tended to integrate the participating tenants into the project. The greatest satisfaction with the project and its neighborhoods was expressed by those tenants who belonged to groups both within and outside of the project** Third, the strongest single factor which predisposes the tenant toward satisfaction with the project was participation in the local tenants' councils.

The policy implications of these findings are clear. To .

*The original Chi Square analysis included the following borrowing sub-categories which were collapsed here for purposes of presentation: 1) seldom, 2) sometimes, and 3) very often.

increase the various satisfactions with which we have been dealing in the present paper, policy must focus upon increasing the availability of voluntary associations within the projects and must attempt to improve the relationship between the projects and the wider community so that tenants are able to meaningfully relate to both. Friendship norms, although treated here as an independent variable, would very likely increase as well with the appearance of improvements in the other areas of neighborhood intergration.

III RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PROJECTS AND SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC HOUSING.

FINDING: SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC HOUSING TENDS TO INCREASE AS THE PROPORTION OF WHITE TENANTS IN A PROJECT INCREASES.

As might be expected on an intuitive basis, the racial composition of public housing projects substantially influence the degree to which tenants express satisfaction with the project*. Satisfaction with public housing projects tends to increase as the "whiteness" of the project increases, so that predominantly black projects (projects in which at least 56 per cent of the tenants are black) receive the

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**It should be noted that membership in outside groups may not be the determining factor, but may indicate the presence of a third variable (e.g., length of time in the project or "stability") which adequately accounts for the relationship. The possible influence of stability variables is presently being analyzed and will be found in the final report.

* To provide a statistical control for the simulataneous influence of social classes of the respondent, the covariance adjuster employed throughout was educational level attained by the tenant. The present findings should be viewed in light of the social class controls which were utilized.

lowest satisfaction scores; racially mixed project (those in which the blacks are between 12% and 43% of the tenants) secured an intermediate position in terms of satisfaction; and predominatly white projects (projects in which at least 90 per cent of the tenants are white) receive the highest scores representing satisfaction with public housing. At the same time, it is quite clear that the racial composition factor is not the only variable that operates to determine project satisfaction. On the contrary, numerous other independent variables can be assumed to operate simultaneously to produce the same effect. In particular, we have already discussed group attributes that can speed or maintain project cohesion (e.g., the presence of friendship norms, attendance at council meetings, and the relationship between the project and the wider community). To explore the simultaneous influence of these group attributes and racial composition of the projects, several analysis of covariance were performed on the scale of project satisfaction (scoring from 1 through 8). Many of the factors speeding neighborhood intergration were observed to increase satisfaction regardless of the racial composition of the project. For example, project satisfaction increased under the influence of attendance at council meetings, the presence of extended kin and involvment with friendship groups both within and outside of the project.

FINDING: SATISFACTION WITH RACIALLY INTEGRATED PROJECTS TENDS TO DEPEND UPON THE STRENGTH OF EXTENDED FAMILY UNITS AND THE AVAILABILITY OF CONTACTS WITH THE WIDER COMMUNITY.

As depicted in Table 7. the interaction of racial composition of projects and the location of relatives is statistically significant.

TABLE 7

THE EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND LOCATION OF RELATIVES ON SCORES OF PROJECT SATISFACTION

Source	df	Mean Square	F
Racial Composition	2	354.163	14.59**
Location of Kin	2	80.056	3.30*
Interaction	4	71.074	2.93*
Residual	515	24.271	

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

The exact nature of the resultant interaction effect reveals the differential influence of the location of relatives on the relationship between the racial composition and satisfaction with the projects. As graphically represented in Figure 1, the presence of extended kin in the integrated housing project substantially increased satisfaction with public housing. On the other hand, satisfaction with the segrated projects tends to increase as the distance between the tenant and his extended kin increased. The latter effect is particularly stron in the predominantly white project.

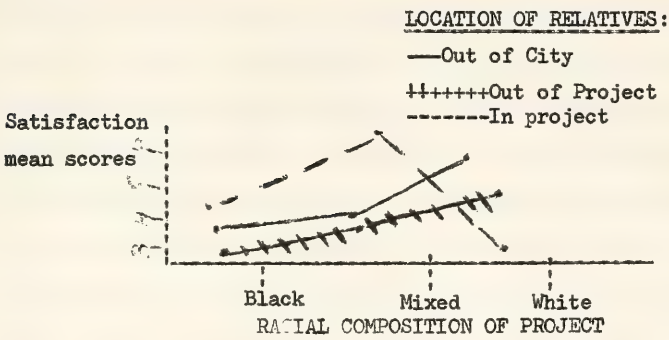

FIGURE 1. The influence of location of relatives on the relationship between racial composition and satisfaction with the public housing project.

It appears likely that potential sources of tension in the integrated housing projects are reduced by the presence of additional social and economic resources in the family unit. There is some reason to believe that the tenant in the integrated projects tends to turn inward toward the family unit or outward beyond the project as the focus of both expressive and instrumental functions. Consequently, the presence of extended kin may strengthen the family bonds for the additional burdens that the characteristics of the housing projects have placed upon it.

Moreover, present interpretation of data is supported by an analysis of the location of friends as a determinant of satisfaction with the project. Particularly in the integrated housing projects, satisfaction with public housing is strongly associated with friendship groups both within and without the project (see Table 8). Again, the importance of maintaining a satisfactory relationship between the project and the wider community can be observed. This structural arrangement in which interaction is concentrated within the family unit and toward the wider community may prevent many of the tensions of an integrated setting. On the other hand,it may also prevent a large number of faborable inter-racial contacts that might otherwise occur.

In the segretated projects-and particularly in the white project which more closely approximates the middle-class model-is no longer normatively sanctioned. The ideal family model among middle-class couples has become one in which relatives are almost totally excluded.[6] Dissatisfaction with public housing among those tenants whose relatives live in promimity to the project may reflect this normative conception of amily life.

TABLE 8

THE LOCATION OF FRIENDS BY PROJECT SATISFACTION IN THE INTEGRATED HOUSING PROJECTS*

		Location of Friends			
Satisfaction:		In only	In and Out	Out only	None
	High	43%	72%	38%	35%
	Low	57	28	62	65
		100%	100%	100%	100%
	(N =)	(46)	(18)	(21)	(84)

*Chi Squares = 8.28, df = 3, $p < .04$, two-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .22

In sum, then, the racial composition of a project tends to play a determing role in the extent to which tenants will express satisfaction with public housing. Overall, the "whiteness" of the project tends to increase satisfaction. However, at least several other groups attritubes of the project also contribute to project satisfaction. In particular, the location of relatives and friends will mediate the relationship between racial composition and satisfaction. In the integrated projects, satifactions tend to turn inward, to the family unit, or outward to the wider community. In either case, satisfaction with the integrated project does not depend upon social interaction among neighbors within the project. Consequently, many potential informal contacts between blacks and whites may be neglected by the present structural arrangements.

IV <u>The Perception of the Project as a Safe Place to Live.</u>

For the lower-class member of American society, the housing unit becomes a haven from the numerous threats that impinge upon him from the outside world.[7] Consequently, the question of safety, even though not as relevant in the middle-class context, is a salient feature of lower-class existence with which the researcher must be prepared to deal. The perception of the project as "a safe place to live" is related to the presence or absence of various group attributes for speeding or maintaining project cohesion. However, the relationship is not a simple one.

FINDING: <u>THE PRESENCE OF POSITIVE GROUP NORMS TOWARD FRIENDSHIP TENDS TO INCREASE THE FEELING OF WELL BEING WITHIN THE PROJECT.</u>

As presented in Table 9, 62 per cent of the tenants reporting that it is hard to make friends in the project also indicate that

TABLE 9

FRIENDSHIP NORMS BY PERCEPTION OF TROUBLE IN THE PROJECT*

		FRIENDSHIP NORMS	
		Present	Absent
"Is there trouble in the project?"	Yes	38%	55%
	No	62	45
		100%	100%
(N =)		(469)	(78)

*Chi Square = 13.88, df = 2, $p < .001$, two-tailed test.

Cramer's V Coefficient = .16

there is trouble in the project. This compares with only 45 per cent of those tenants who report ease in making friends.

Similarly, when asked "Are you afraid living here or do you feel reasonably safe?", tenants who report ease in making friends in the project feel safer than tenants reporting difficulty (Chi Square = 9.48, df =1, $p < .002$).

FINDING: <u>SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH GROUPS OUTSIDE OF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT TENDS TO DECREASE THE FEELING OF SAFETY WITHIN THE PROJECT.</u>

Social interaction itself does not assure a feeling of safety and well being among public housing tenants. On the contrary, interaction with groups and organizations outside of the project tends to focus attention upon problems of security within the project. (Chi Square = 13.83, df = 6, $p < .03$). In addition, there appears to be a curvilinear relationship between the location of relatives and the perception of trouble in the project. That is, more trouble is reported when relatives are either a very great distance or a very short distance from the tenant. (Chi Square = 14.61, df=4, $p < .006$).

Moreover, at least in specified circumstances, the members of the immediate family may themselves become sources of insecurity and fear.[8] Even though there is no overall relationship between the presence of the husband and feelings of safety, among welfare recipients and among reportedly lower class members of the projects greater fear is expressed when the husbands are present than when they are absent from the family (Chi Square = 3.56, df =1, $p < .05$). This relationship probably reflects a complex of factors, including the fear among welfare recipients that their husbands will be detected by the welfare department, and among women separated from their

husbands that those husbands might return to become an additional source of trouble in the household. Certainly, such pressures as these place a heavy burden upon the family of the welfare recipient in public housing, as elsewhere, probably resulting in what Rodman has termed the "value stretch."[9] That is, the welfare recipient, although perhaps holding many middle-class values, is forced by her unfavorable socio-economic situation to behave in a manner that is adaptional and not entirely consistant with the values, that she may hold. The present findings tend to contradict the "moynihan view," according to which the husband-resent family structure is more functional than the husband-absent family.[10] On the contrary, it appears that the husband-present family among welfare recipients in public housing may actually introduce additional psychological burdens upon the family unit.

FINDING: PARTICIPATION IN A TENANT COUNCIL TENDS TO DECREASE A FEELING OF SECURITY WITHIN THE PROJECT.

The finding that attendance at council meetings introduces feelings of insecurity among tenants is indeed an extremely tentative one, for the preliminary data does not reveal any relationship between feelings of safety and attendance. On the other hand, a statistically significant relationship is obtained between the perception of trouble in the project and attendance at council meetings (Chi-Square = 6.46, df=2, p.04). (It has already been noted that satisfaction with the project is greater among tenants who attend).

Both involvement in outside groups and participation in the tenant council provide a "reference group" for the social comparision of the tenants' experiences. The social isolate may not have such a point of reference against which to measure his experiences in the project. On the other hand, the tenant who is actively involved with others can "compare notes" and thereby become aware of the problems encountered by others. The level of security in any given project can become a shared group norm for those tenants who participate in the tenant council. For tenants who are involved with outside groups, the wider community is a reference group for evaluating their feelings vis-a-vis the project.

V COLLECTIVITY-ORIENTATION AND PROJECT SATISFACTION

Individuals generally can be dichotomized in terms of their willingness to cooperate as members of groups rather than to operate independently of other persons. The "collectivity-oriented" individual corresponds roughly to what social scientists refer to as other-directed, acceptance-seeking, and conformity-oriented. The "achievement and independence oriented" individual corresponds to inner-directed, achievement-motivated, or production-oriented characters.

FINDING: <u>COLLECTIVITY ORIENTED TENANTS ARE MORE SATISFIED WITH PUBLIC HOUSING THAN ACHIEVEMENT AND INDEPENDENCE-ORIENTED TENANTS.</u>

Collectivity orientation can be expressed in diverse ways. In the present study, preferences for sharing work with one's spouse, renting rather than buying the housing unit, having friends rather than keeping to oneself, upward social mobility, and higher education were employed as indicators of collectivity orientation. The relationship of collectivity orientation to satisfaction with public housing has been summarized in Table 10.

TABLE 10

THE INFLUENCE OF VARIABLES OF COLLECTIVITY ORIENTATION

ON SCORES OF SATISFACTION WITH PUBLIC HOUSING*

COLLECTIVITY VARIABLE:	MEAN SCORE	F
Husband-Wife Relationship		
Share work	4.95	1.32
Work Independently	4.64	
Preference for buying vs. renting		
Renting Preferred	5.03	22.79**
Buying Preferred	4.46	
Prefer to have friends?		
Yes	5.05	19.36**
No	4.33	
Social Mobility Aspirations		
Don't plan to move up	5.01	3.34**
Plan to move up	4.49	

*Table can be read as follows: the higher the mean score the more satisfaction with public housing expressed by the groups to the left.

**p. 01

Preliminary results substantiate the notion that independence-orientation can lead to dissatisfaction with public housing. Those tenants who chose not to share work with their spouse, who prefer to own their own housing unit, or who would "rather keep to themselves" are substantially less satisfied with public housing.* In addition, these same tenants report relative dissatisfaction with their neighbors in the projects (Prefer to have friends: Chi-Square = 23.41 df=2, p. 001; Preference for buying vs. renting: Chi-Square = 12.80, df=4, p. 01).

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*The husband-wife relationship variable (share work/work independently) although not statistically significant is in the predicted direction.

The influence of achievement-orientation is equally well demonstrated by the data. As shown in Table 10, those tenants who express plans to move up on the socio-economic ladder (upward social mobility) are significantly less satisfied with the project than tenants who do not report plans to more up. Social mobility aspirations also affect opinion of project neighbors. Findings indicate that tenants with mobility aspirations hold less favorable opinions of their neighbors than tenants without mobility aspirations (Chi-Square = 27.58, df = 8, p. 001). Moreover, tenants who are relatively well educated (ninth grade or better) somewhat less satisfied with their project neighbors than tenants who have little formal education (Chi-Square = 4.63, df = 2, p. 09).

Overall, it is safe to conclude that the image of public housing held by many project tenants is not consistent with their plans and aspirations related to projecte levels of future achievement and status. When the major cultural achievement and status goals are accepted, public housing as well as public housing tenants become associated with the frustration rather than the fulfillment of personally important goals and values. Public housing represents the deprived conditions from which the tenant is planning to escape.

On the other hand, for the apparently sizable proportion of tenants for whom the "American dream" has been rejected in favor of the security of social affiliation and the status quo, public housing may provide an adequate source of substitute goal fulfillment. But it may also be associated with a life style that prevents many lower-class persons from entering the mainstream of American life and from full participation in the goals which most other Americans take for granted they will someday achieve.

VI. Who joins tenants' councils?

The importance of local political participation to an understanding of satisfaction with public housing has already been reviewed: Tenants who become active in the local tenants' councils tend to express greater satisfaction with public housing than tenants who do not choose to participate actively. In this context, it is meaningful to inquire as to the social characteristics that separate the activist from tenants who are unwilling to become actively involved.

FINDING: A DISPROPORTIONATELY LARGE REPRESENTATION of those "problem tenants" who have not yet become alienated from the projects express willingness to participate actively in tenants' councils.

"Problem tenants" from the culture of poverty are predisposed to attend council meetings. A disproportionately large representation of female recipients of welfare, blacks, tenants who are separated or divorced from their spouses, and tenants in large family units express a willingness to participate in tenant councils. More specifically, 64 per cent of the active tenants as compared with only 43 per cent of the inactive tenants reported living in families containing at least five members. Similarly, 28 per cent of the activists whereas only 11 per cent of the non-activists were separated or divorced.

There is one major exception to the overall tendency for "problem tenants" to join tenant councils. That is, the aging and aged members of the project, whose physiological, economic, socio-

logical and psychological problems are often severe, tend to take little interest in the tenant councils. Only 19 per cent of those tenants express an interest in attending council meetings, but 37 per cent of those reportedly unwilling to attend meetings are in the age group over 60 years of age (Chi-Square = 41.27, df = 15, $p < .0001$).

Politically-active tenants apparently are less satisfifed with public housing services than inactive tenants. When asked, "Do you know of anyone who gets better service from the management than you do?", 24 per cent of the activists whereas only 10 per cent of the non-activists answered "yes." (Chi-Square = 7.93, df = 3, $p < .04$). In a more specific context, tenants were asked about the quality of services in connection with repairs made to their apartments. In response to the question, "When you told the management your problem, did they generally get it fixed?", 25 per cent of the activists but only 11 per cent of the non-activists answered "No." (Chi-Square = 23.70, df = 12, $p < .02$). Similarly, tenants who express a willingness to attend council meetings are significantly more likely to report that the management did not inspect the problem after being called by the tenant (Chi-Square = 35.84, df = 12, $p < .001$).

At first glance, it might appear that the system of tenant councils actually reaches those tenants in greatest need of outside assistance. For example, the data shows the extent to which welfare recipients, tenants from large families, and tenants with management-related problems express interest in the council.

However, it was reported earlier that politically-active tenants are substantially more satisfied with public housing than politically-inactive tenants. This finding strongly suggests that active tenants may be the least politically alienated of public housing tenants. Those tenants who are willing to attend council meetings apparently are satisfied to operate within the system in an effort to produce change. It is entirely conceivable that those tenants with the most basic socio-economic problems--tenants who are least satisfied with housing-related services and most alienated from the political system--fail to participate at the local political level.

Assuming the basic validity of these remarks, the tenant council may serve little more than a socialization function for marginal members of the project: for those tenants who are stigmatized either by race, welfare status, marital status, or some other widely employed criterion of worth and dignity and who wish to become better integrated into the project. In other words, although the council may have the manifest function of representing the interests and needs of the tenants to management and to the Housing Authority, it may also have the more effective latent function of supplying collective goals around which informal social interaction among tenants can take place. One result for the public housing project may be increased internal cohesion. However, another possibility may take the form of a "boomerang effect." If it is accurate to characterize the active tenants as stigmatized, the possibility arises that the tenants' council itself might become stigmatized by the process of generalization and that the council could come to

represent the division between more and less stigmatized tenants in the project. Under this arrangement, the least satisfied and most needy of the tenants might be dissuaded from participating in the council.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gideon Sjober, Richard A. Brymer and Buford Farris. "Bureaucracy and the Lower Class," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 50, No. 3 (April, 1966), pp. 325-337.

2. Ibid.

3. See Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963).

4. Phillip Fellin and Eugene Litwak, "neighborhood Cohesion Under Conditions of Mobility," American Sociological Review Vol. 28 (June, 1963), pp. 364-376.

5. Jerome S. Stromberg, "Kinship and Friendship Among Lower Class Negro Families," Paper prepared for the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco, 1967.

6. Marvin B. Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction," Social Problems, Vol. 6 (Spring, 1959), pp. 333-340.

7. Lee Rainwater, "Fear and the House-as-Haven in the Lower Class," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 62, No. 1, pp. 23-31.

8. Ibid.

9. Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, et, al (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), pp. 270-285.

10. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, 1965.

11. See, David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

SECTION III

RESEARCH NOTES

FRIENDSHIP TYPOLOGY

Preliminary Findings

Contingency Tables: Summary and Interpretation*

Whether or not a person considers himself as one who makes friends easily or with difficulty has theoretical implications for us. We might ask, for example, whether a certain "social climate" in a housing project is such that people tend not to associate and neighbor with each other. Presumably, however, there will be in any given project intervening variables which mediate the project's overall "friendliness" (or climate) and the tenant's concept of himself as being quick to make friends or not. For example, blacks who make friends easily may show up often statistically in low friendliness projects because of discrimination on the part of their white neighbors. In this case, race has acted as an intermediary or intervening variable which carries considerable weight.

For the purpose of analysis, we split the projects into three groups according to how many people within each project said they had friends there: low friendliness (per cent with friends in project); medium friendliness (per cent with friends in project); and high friendliness (per cent with friends in project). Let us look then at 22 variables which we hypothesized to be important in forming the social climate of the housing project. Each one was considered to be a possible intervening variable between simple personal ease in making friends and actual friendliness of the project. The direction of the relationships will be interpreted where possible.

Variables and Their Significance

Each of the 22 variables was plotted against those tenants who said they make friends easily, and those who said they were less facile at making friends, with friendliness of the project as the independent variable. Among those relationships which were statistically significant, with only one exception the category receiving the highest number of responses was the medium friendliness; next the highly friendly projects; then the low friendliness projects. Those who said it was difficult for them to make friends, across all variables except one, lived most often in the medium friendliness projects, with low friendliness projects next. Those who say they find it easy to make friends also live most often in medium friendly projects, with high friendliness projects a close second. This means that whether or not it is easy to make friends, most respondents live in medium friendliness projects; but the tenants who find it hard to make friends are more likely to live in low friendliness projects than those who find it easy to make friends, who correspondingly are more likely to live in high friendliness projects.

Significant variables for those who find it easy to make friends include the following: race (0.000), marital status (0.000), previous type of residence (0.000), planned length of stay (0.000), friends in the project (0.000), feeling safe (0.043), trouble in the project (0.000), being on public aid (0.000), last year of school completed (0.002), easy or hard to make friends in the project itself (0.093), borrowing in building (0.000), frequency

of relative visits (0.000), attended tenant council meetings (0.000), tenant council to decide admissions (0.000), tenant council to decide rules (0.000), opinion of neighbors (0.000), and opinion of public housing (0.000).

There were fewer significant variables for those who find it hard to make friends: race (0.004), marital status (0.032), previous type of residence (0.014), planned length of stay (0.427), having friends in the project (0.019), feeling safe (0.243), trouble in the project (0.040), being on public aid (0.003), borrowing in building (0.006), frequency of relative visits (0.334), attended council meetings (0.091), tenant council to decide admissions (0.119), and tenant council to change rules (0.271).

This means basically, that the people who find it easy to make friends and also live in medium to high friendliness projects, tend to be of the following nature:

--white

--married or single

-from another project or their own home previously

--plan to stay in the projects five years or more

--have friends in the project

- feel safe in the project

--say there is no trouble, or only outside-caused trouble in the project

--are not on public aid, or are disabled, veterans, or social security recipients

--completed 12 or more years of school

--think it is easy to make friends in the project

--tend <u>not</u> to borrow

-- receive visits from relatives not at all <u>or</u> more than once a week

-- attended council meetings

-- has either a high opinion of neighbors or none at all

-- has either a favorable opinion of public housing or none at all

Conversely, people who find it hard to make friends (and tend to live in the medium and low friendliness projects) seem to be of the following nature:

-- Non-white

-- separated, divorced or widowed

-- from an apartment or the same project

-- plan to stay less than five years

-- don't have friends in the project

-- don't feel especially safe in the project

-- say there is tenant-caused trouble

-- receive ADC or public aid

-- sometimes borrow

-- receive relative visits once a week or month

-- attends meetings, but is often too busy

-- would attend screening meetings

Let us turn now to a discussion in detail of the significant variables, in each case first for those who find it easy to make friends (odd-numbered tables).

Table 1: <u>Race</u> (easy)

There is a very striking difference between the location of black and white tenants in the projects in regard to how friendly those projects are. The tables is as follows:

		WHITE	BLACK
FRIENDLINESS OF PROJECT	LOW	7	84
	MEDIUM	90	96
	HIGH	145	6
N = 477 N = 477	OTHER	26	23

Note that there are only seven white tenants in the low friendliness projects, and six black tenants in the high friendliness projects. The implications of this very significant (0.000) relationship are not obvious at first glance. It would seem to indicate that even black tenants who generally find it easy to make friends run into discrimination on the part of white tenants; it may be that Negroes tend to have friends in the projects less than whites; or it may be a reflection of a natural process of statistical selection. In the latter case, the finding could be interpreted as follows. The 91 cases in the low friendliness category mostly come from either predominantly white projects or fairly racially mixed projects, where relations between whites and blacks are not conducive to forming friendships.... conversely, the 145 in the high friendliness projects may be in the predominantly white projects. In order to break this particular finding down into meaningful terms, we would have to examine each particular project according to its racial proportions. In other words, does the "friendly" project tend to be more or less racially homogeneous.

Some theory would suggest that there is less tension and hostility in more homogeneous racial situations, particularly with respect to housing: the closer to a definite imbalance (e.g., 90% white, or 90% black) the fewer problems there are apt to be. (And more friendships formed?) The closer a situation gets to equal numbers (e.g., 50% either race), the more discrimination and hostility there is likely to be, as the situation approaches a more threatening climate. Other theory might suggest, however, that in a mixed situation, people might tend to "take sides" more readily, thus, in effect, aligning themselves with people of their own color as a defense against discrimination or anxiety in relations with the opposite race. One way to look at this problem would be to perform an analysis along the following lines:

	Over 80% White		79 to 21% White		Under 20% White	
LOW FRIENDLINESS	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
MEDIUM FRIENDLINESS						
HIGH FRIENDLINESS						

Table 1: Race (hard)

For people who say they make friends only with difficulty, the same pattern emerges exactly: Whites are located most heavily in the medium and high friendliness projects -- even though personally they find it hard to make friends. Black tenants, on the other hand, appear very heavily in the low and medium cells. A breakdown as suggested for Table 1 is suggested here also.

Table 2: Marital Status (easy)

The marital status table suggests that perhaps tenants who are least ambiguous and associated with least stigma are those who are located in the most friendly projects. Single tenants are found most often in medium friendliness projects, widowed tenants in high friendliness projects, and married women in both.

However, separated (probably all women) tenants are located mostly in the low friendliness, or at best medium, projects. Divorced tenants live in medium friendliness projects, or low friendliness projects. The majority of respondents, however, live in what we characterized as medium friendliness (38%) or high friendliness (32%) projects, leaving only a third of the tenants in low friendliness places.

Table 2: Marital Status (hard)

For those who say it is difficult for them to make friends, the pattern is the same as in Table 2 (easy). About 70% live in either medium or high friendliness projects. Twenty-one per cent live in projects which are basically unfriendly, as opposed to 14% in highly friendly projects. No particular marital status proved to be special in this case.

Table 3: Where Did You Live Before (easy)

Previous type of residence has an effect on the location a tenant has now regarding project friendliness. Those who previously owned their own homes, and those who lived in another project, most often live in highly friendly projects, with medium coming in second. Those who previously rented an apartment (not public housing) split between low and high projects with medium receiving the most weight

--almost as many as the first two categories combined. People who have lived in their present project for a very long time show the same trend: half the cases are in medium friendliness, the other half split between low and high. This would indicate that factors other than friendliness of their surroundings influences them to stay there.

Interpretation of this set of findings is risky, but it is possible that former home-owners are more friendly simply because they were comparatively isolated in single family units. Why people from other projects should end up in presently friendly projects more than "oldtimers" is something that might be investigated further.

The fact that previous apartment dwellers and present project tenants show a normal curve (with the peak at medium) may indicate that when it is easy to make friends, other factors intervene to make the project friendly or unfriendly.

Table 3: Where Did You Live Before (hard)

The most significant feature of this table is the preponderance of former home owners in the "high" cell. A few previous apartment dwellers also live in high friendliness projects, but for the most part, the medium and low cells were most heavily filled.

Table 4: How Long Will You Stay Here? (hard)

In this case, it makes little difference whether the project is friendly or not. Other factors intervene, or at least this factor is virtually irrelevant for the majority of tenants who find it difficult to make friends: for they are just as likely to stay over five years whether the projects are low or high in friendliness.

Again, over 50% of the cases plan to stay over five years anyway. Perhaps if one has a difficult time making friends, it doesn't really matter whether the people around him are friendly or not. Also, these people may have more contact with relatives or old, outside friends which may serve to mitigate the effect of their neighbors' friendliness.

Table 5: Do You Have Friends In The Project (easy)

About 57% of the respondents claim they do have friends in the project. Those who don't, tend to live in low or medium projects in regard to friendliness. This is to be expected, since the division between low, medium, and high friendliness projects was made exactly on this basis. Among those who do have friends, about 45% live in projects of medium friendliness, and the rest in low. It would be useful to know how many of the low responses and how many of those without friends at all are Negro tenants.

Table 5: Do You Have Friends In The Project (hard)

Of those who say it is hard for them to make friends, 85% say they have no friends in the project. Yet 54% live in medium friendliness projects and 14% in very friendly projects.

Table 6: How Often Do You See Your Friends (hard, easy, not significant)

Table 7: Do Your Friends Live In The Same Building (hard, easy, not significant)

Table 8: Do You Have Friends Not In Building But In Project (hard and easy, not significant)

Table 9: Do Your Friends Live In Another Project (easy, not significant, hard, empty)

Table 10: Other (easy, hard, not significant)

Table 11: Do You Feel Safe (easy)

Of those who say it is easy for them to make friends, 79% say they feel safe in the projects. Whether or not they feel safe, most tenants live in projects of medium (38%) or high (31%) friendliness.

Table 11: Do You Feel Safe (hard)

Again, of those who say it is hard for them to make friends, the majority say they feel safe in the projects (65%). Only one "afraid" tenant lives in a project of high friendliness, whereas ten "safe" tenants did.

Table 12: Trouble In The Project (easy)

Those who say they make friends easily for the greater part (52%) say there is no trouble in the project. Of this group, 109 are in projects which are very friendly, 93 are in projects of medium friendliness, and 47 are in low friendliness projects.

On the other hand, 25% say there is tenant-caused trouble. Of these, the majority are in projects of medium or low friendliness.

Those who say there is outside-caused trouble show a pattern similar to those who say there is no trouble at all; 28 high, 22 medium, and only 5 low appear in this category.

It is obvious that in this case low project friendliness is associated with trouble caused by tenants; trouble caused by outsiders does not reflect so much on project friendliness.

Table 12: Trouble In The Project (hard)

Those who find it hard to make friends do not live in "high" friendliness projects, except when they also say there is not any trouble in the projects (43%). Among those who say there is tenant-caused trouble (45%), 23 live in medium projects and 8 live in the low friendliness projects.

Table 13: Public Aid (easy)

Tenants who do not receive public aid (42%) decidedly are found in projects of high and medium friendliness (about equally). Those on ADC (33%) show the opposite pattern: medium and low residence (again, about equally).

Welfare and old age recipients show a preponderance in medium and high friendliness projects. Veterans and the disabled, as well as social security recipients reside in projects which are very friendly.

It may be that the ADC recipients, even though they say they make friends easily, are experiencing a "coolness" or avoidance by more self-sufficient tenants. In other words, is this an indication of a status which is associated with some degree of stigma?

Table 13: Public Aid (hard)

For those who find it hard to make friends, a pattern emerges which is similar to the "easy" (table 13): those not on public aid and those on non-ADC aid, live in projects of medium friendliness and sometimes in the high friendliness ones. For those on ADC, most are in projects medium in friendliness --but proportionately more are in low projects than in other groups. (In this table, all non-ADC recipients were combined since they totalled only 24 cases out of 72).

Table 14: Last Year of School Completed (easy)

Eight per cent of the respondents received 6 years or less of education. Most of these tenants are in projects of medium or high friendliness; only two are in low projects.

Of those who went through the eighth grade (32%), the locations are: low, 37; medium, 58; and high, 42. This is a rather compressed

normal curve. The tenants who claim at least 12 years of education (53%) also show a normal curve with a slight predominance of high over low responses, but with the peak at medium.

Tenants who began or finished college (6%) were predominantly in the high cells.

There appears to be a slight positive correlation, then, between years of education and friendliness of project one lives in: the more education, the higher the project friendliness.

Table 14: Last Year of School Completed (hard) not significant -- appears as though it would be normally distributed if cells were collapsed

Table 15: Easy or Hard To Make Friends In The Project (easy)

Of those who say they find it easy to make friends in general, only 12% say it is hard to make friends in the project. Of this group, the majority live in medium and high friendliness projects, with only 4 out of 59 in low.

The other 87% who find it easy to make friends in the projects are found in the high and medium friendliness projects.

Table 15: Easy or Hard To Make Friends In The Project (hard, not significant)

Table 16: Borrowing In The Building (easy)

Among those who find it easy to make friends, those who never (55%) or seldom (9%) borrow are more likely to be living in a high friendliness project than those who borrow sometimes or very often. The greatest borrowers (8%) are in low, medium and high ratings equally often.

(Is it possible that borrowing is a form of "testing" the strength and sincerity of friendships? Those who borrow very often experience a wider range of responses to their behavior. We would

need to know who the borrowers were to understand more about the way these findings turned out; e.g., are the borrowers on ADC, single, married, separated, etc.?)

Table 16: Borrowing In The Building (hard)

Those who find it difficult to make friends borrow less than those who find it easy. Of the 76% who never borrow, most of them live in projects in the medium friendliness range. Only 3 persons said they borrow often, and they each rated differently. Of those who sometimes borrow, the majority live in a low project in regard to friendliness.

Table 17: Frequency Of Relative Visits (easy)

Those whose relatives virtually never visit, and those whose relatives visit more than once a week, live in the friendly projects. Relatives visits of once a week or less seem to be associated with lower projects when it comes to friendliness. In the once a month or less categories, the locations are preponderantly medium and high.

Table 17: Frequency of Relative Visits (hard)

In all categories, the most frequent location was in projects of medium friendliness with one exception: those whose relatives visited more than once a week showed slightly higher location in low friendliness projects. The other categories showed a normal spread, with the peak at medium.

Table 18: Attended Meetings (easy and hard)

Table 19: Tenant Council To Decide Admissions (easy and hard)

Table 20: Tenant Council Could Change Rules (easy and hard)

Table 21: Opinion of Neighbors (easy)

Of those who find it easy to make friends, over 56% have a favorable opinion of their neighbors; in this group, 4/5ths live in medium or high friendliness projects. Of those who have unfavorable opinions of their neighbors, more than twice as many live in low or medium projects as in high projects. Those who have no opinion, also live predominently in high friendliness projects.

Table 21: Opinion of Neighbors (hard) not significant

Table 22: Opinion of Public Housing (easy)

As with opinion of neighbors, those who find it easy to make friends also have a high opinion of public housing (51%). They live, again, almost five times as often in medium or high friendliness projects as low. Those who have unfavorable opinions of public housing, show a normal curve (with the peak at medium) with respect to project friendliness. Those of no opinion, show strongly in the high friendliness cell.

Table 22: Opinion of Public Housing (hard)not significant

Notes on Tenant Complaints and
The Role of the Manager:

Some Tentative Thoughts and Recommendations

Ideally, of course, the objective is to avoid dissatisfaction and complaints by providing trouble-free equipment or service. When dissatisfactions arise, it is the better part of wisdom to encourage prompt expression of complaints and prompt disposition of such complaints. We know that there are people who have complaints but do nothing about them. Not only are they dissatisfied customers, but they constitute a potent source of bad public relations. Furthermore, there are those who try to deal with a complaint or repair problem themselves: some because they enjoy the activity and others out of frustration at getting no response from management. Finally, of those who call upon management, experience with management varies in promptness and satisfaction with which the repair or complaint is handled. Our objective is not only to discover ways of improving building and equipment to make it more trouble free but to develop a strategy for ensuring prompt service when problems arise. This means both encouraging and making it easy for tenants to register complaints promptly and without fear of retribution or penalty and making sure that the requests for service are dealt with promptly and adequately.

With this in mind, we wish initially to discover:

1. <u>where most of the complaints are</u> (are they concentrated in certain projects which, for example, are older) <u>and what they are</u>. (We can get some clue as to whether the complaints are "real"

or depend on the standards or personal characteristics of the respondent by comparing different groups of residents within the same project. Of course, we must bear in mind that different kinds of households make different demands of the physical plant; for example, a large family with many young children imposes heavy demands on plumbing and on decoration of the apartment.)

2. Willingness to register complaints with management. What kind of people do nothing, try to handle problems themselves or call upon management? To what extent do these different ways of coping depend upon personal dispositions--beliefs, values, etc.--and to what extent do they depend upon past experience with management (good or bad) or upon current situational factors that may make it easy or hard to complain? (e.g. Is there a tenants' council and does this encourage registering of complaints with management?) Does high neighboring and mutual aid provide mutual support for calling upon management or just complaining? What can be done to encourage people to speak up? To what extent do different ways of handling a problem depend upon the nature of the complaint; do tenants handle painting needs differently from electrical or plumbing?

3. Management response to tenants complaints. What helps to explain differential promptness with which management deals with a complaint? Does it reflect differences among the projects--either in the volume of complaints per project and the relative ability of the service staffs to cope with them, or different effectiveness of project managements, the nature of the repair or service problem (painting presents more difficulty in the logistics of managing service than say electrical or plumbing repair), or some other factor?

4. Consequences that flow from these differences in experience identified above. In items 1 through 3 above, the focus has been primarily upon what helps to explain why the pattern or way of coping occurs. Were we, for analytic purposes, to ask a different question: what other consequences flow from having no repair complaints or having many, from failing to complain or dealing with it without calling upon management or calling upon management, from having a prompt response or none, from satisfaction with the way management handled the problem or dissatisfaction. Obviously, these are interrelated questions: for example, a prompt management response is likely to influence satisfaction with the way the complaint is handled but this may not be a perfect one to one association. Tenants may be satisfied although it took management a long time either because their expectations of management are low or they don't feel they have any rights or because they are very understanding (too understanding?) of management's difficulties in handling all the demands for service. Does difference in satisfaction or promptness affect disposition to join a tenants' council? Is it associated with dissatisfaction with other aspects of public housing? (The direction of causality, of course, must be carefully interpreted: if we find that dissatisfaction with management is associated with dissatisfaction with other residents and other aspects of life there are at least two interpretations that can be made: dissatisfaction in any single area of life tends to diffuse to other areas and/or some people, by personality, are malcontents (or, conversely, pollyannas) and see life through either grey or rose colored glasses.

On the basis of these findings, recommendations might be made of the following sort (depending on the nature of the results, of course).

A. Steps to encourage people to register dissatisfactions

1. Persuade people that Management genuinely welcomes complaints, and will not take it out on "complainers". The most convincing evidence is prompt action when complaints are registered and overt action to show appreciation of those who complain.

2. For skeptics, for those who still fear retaliation, for those too busy or too shy to come forward:

a. Encourage tenant councils, formation of elected grievance committees in each building where no tenant council exists

b. (and/or) appointment of an ombudsman, preferably selected by or jointly with a tenant association or an elected committee representing the tenants council. It can be a tenant, but if so, the Housing Authority must go to great lengths in relations with this tenant ombudsman to avoid any implication of pressure to induce the tenant spokesman to play the Management game (e.g., threatening raising rent, giving poorer service or otherwise harassing him). The tenant may tend to act somewhat more militant and uncompromising in order to counter any suspicion by fellow tenants (particularly those he represents) that the ombudsman is playing a management game. For this reason, management

should be particularly patient and give such spokesman a long rope.

c. Appointment of a "civilian review board" for housing.

B. Steps in the direction of giving people a greater voice in or participation in review of, control over an increasing number of housing issues. The grievance committee and ombudsman mentioned above are possible steps in that direction. The limitation of this approach is that it places the resident in the position of the aggrieved--after a problem arises--but gives them no positive stake or sense of obligation or responsibility in anticipating problems and preventing them or any real opportunity to appreciate the problems in avoiding or in promptly meeting maintenance problems. They, the residents, have no direct stake in helping to cope with these management problems or minimize them. Since they are overwhelmed or preoccupied as most of us are by the details of the daily round and alienated from a sense of personal stake in or control over their lives, this has to be deliberately built in. Here, we are pointing in the direction of community advisory boards on Public Housing--that will sit in on committees jointly with key management personnel and on Boards (BHA) to become familiar with problems of running a housing development and to have the opportunity, through their own committees (or jointly with Management) to develop their own policies and recommendations.

ALL RESPONDENTS

WHO MAKES THE RULES

		MANAGR	HOUSNG AUTH.	OTHER	TOTAL	PERCENT
	APPROVE OF RULES	67.2 168	57.1 149	56.2 18	335	61.7
DO NOT APPROVE	COMPLAINED	12.8 32	9.2 24	18.7 6	62	11.4
	DID NOT COMPLAIN	20.0 50	33.7 88	25.0 8	146	26.9
	TOTAL	250	261	32	543	
	PERCENT	46.0	48.1	5.9		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 14.314 WITH FOUR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.006 LEVEL)

TABLE I

NOTES ON TABLE I

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this table is that it shows a majority of tenants (61.7%) approving public housing rules. Of those who expressed disapproval of housing rules, twice as many did not complain about them as did complain. This leaves only 11.6% of all respondents who might be considered "agitated" -- who disapprove of housing rules and complain about them.

Whether the tenant thinks the manager makes the rules, or the housing authority does, who ascribe the rule-making function to the manager are both more likely to approve of them and more likely to complain when they don't, than those who say the authority makes the rules. We might explain this difference simply on the basis of proximity. The manager as rule-maker might seem more legitimate to some tenants since he theoretically is in closer contact with day-to-day project life than an office downtown. Conversely, since he is more available, tenants may find it easier to make their dissatisfactions known to him.

This data supports the idea of a tenants' council or some other more individualized body which both makes and enforces rules for particular projects, and is immediately involved in and responsive to the project's daily life.

TABLES AND NOTES:

SLIDING SCALE RENT

vs.

FLAT RATE

TABLE III

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDNG SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
RACE	WHITE	83.8 165	38.5 141	306	54.4
	BLACK	16.2 32	61.5 225	257	45.6
TOTAL		197	366	563	
PERCENT		35.0	65.0		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 103.791 (CONTINUITY CORRECTED)
SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 34.

NOTES ON TABLE III

In this table, it is evident that white tenants make up the majority who prefer sliding scale rents; and black tenants primarily want flat rates.

Although whites are approximately split on this issue, black tenants are overwhelmingly in favor of a flat rate -- 225 to 32!

Obviously, even though in this sample whites slightly outnumber blacks, if a vote were taken the heavy black response would carry a flat rate into existence. Here we see 65% of all tenants preferring a flat rent scale, probably because raises or decreases in low-income salaries are neither predictable, consistent, nor permanent. In other words, one cannot count on smooth and constant upward mobility. The sliding scale tends to hit you when you're "up," instead of allowing for accumulation of resources.

TABLE IV

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDNG SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
AGE	UNDER 20	6.3	1.4		
		12	5	17	3.1
	20-30	24.1	39.7		
		46	144	190	34.3
	30-40	26.7	35.5		
		51	129	180	32.5
	40-50	9.9	8.5		
		19	31	50	9.0
	50-60	5.8	6.6		
		11	24	35	6.3
	OVER 60	27.2	8.3		
		52	30	82	14.8
	TOTAL	191	363	554	
	PERCENT	34.5	65.5		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 52.501 WITH FIVE DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 43

NOTES ON TABLE IV

This table shows the value of a sliding scale rent as perceived by those under twenty and over sixty; when salaries are more fixed (by AFDC or Old Age) the sliding scale is most advantageous. Those in the twenty to forty age bracket (in a more competitive situation) prefer a flat rate. Here, the tenant is not "punished" for improving his income. Overall, the flat rate again is preferred 65.5% of the time.

TABLE V

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
	THRU 6	11.5 22	6.6 24	46	8.3
	THRU 8	30.7 59	36.7 134	193	34.6
LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED.	THRU 12	51.6 99	51.8 189	288	51.7
	BEGIN COL.	5.2 10	3.6 13	23	4.1
	FINISH COL.	1.0 2	1.4 5	7	1.3
	TOTAL	192	365	557	
	PERCENT	34.5	65.5		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 5.868 WITH FOUR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.210 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 40.

NOTES

Here we see that as education level increases past the eighth and twelfth grades, the more likely the tenant is to prefer flat rate rents.

TABLE VI

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
EXPECTED TENURE	UNDER 6MONTH	8.5	5.8		
		15	20	35	6.7
	UNDER 1YR	6.2	7.5		
		11	26	37	7.1
	OVER 1YR	27.1	40.8		
		48	141	189	36.1
	OVER 5 YEARS	58.2	46.0		
		103	159	262	50.1
	TOTAL	177	346	523	
	PERCENT	33.8	66.2		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 11.073 WITH THREE DEGREES OF FREEDOM (SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.011 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 74.

NOTES

This table indicates that those tenants who expect to stay in public housing longest, also prefer a flat rate rent. The differential seems to be more important for one to four year tenants than for those who expect to stay over five years.

TABLE VII

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDNG SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
WOULD SERVICE BE BETTER IN A PRIVATE APART-MENT?	YES	47.2 84	46.3 156	240	46.6
	NO	52.8 94	53.7 181	275	53.4
	TOTAL	178	337	515	
	PERCENT	34.6	65.4		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 0.010 (CONTINUITY CORRECTED) (NOT SIGNIFICANT) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 82.

TABLE VIII

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
BORROW FROM NEIGHBORS IN PROJECT.	NO	67.4 130	52.6 190	320	57.8
	VERY OFTEN	4.7 9	8.9 32	41	7.4
	SOME TIMES	19.2 37	29.6 107	144	26.0
	SELDOM	8.8 17	8.9 32	49	8.8
TOTAL		193	361	554	
PERCENT		34.8	65.2		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 13.024 WITH THREE DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.005 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSSING UNITS = 43.

NOTES

A flat rate advocate tends to be a heavier borrower.

TABLE X

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
RENTAL PREFERENCE	OWN HOME	59.4 (114)	62.6 (228)	342	61.5
	PUBLIC APARTMENT	20.8 (40)	14.0 (51)	91	16.4
	PRIVATE APARTMENT	19.8 (38)	23.4 (85)	123	22.1
	TOTAL	192	364	556	
	PERCENT	34.5	65.5		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 4.512 WITH TWO DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.105 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 41.

NOTES

In this table, we see that flat rate advocates are more likely to prefer other fixed expense housing situations as well; either owning their own home, or living in private apartments.

It would seem that sliding-scale advocates find public housing slightly more appealing than the other group.

TABLE XI

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
		30.3	15.0		
WOULD DESIRE	YES	56	54	110	20.1
RENT APPLIED TO OWNERSHIP OF APARTMENT		69.7	85.0		
	NO	129	307	436	79.9
	TOTAL	185	361	546	
	PERCENT	33.9	66.1		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 16.887 (CONTINUITY CORRECTED)
SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 51.

NOTES ON TABLE XI

This is an extremely important finding, since application of rent toward ownership of housing is proposed frequently by many different groups and agencies. However, our sample strongly rejects the idea, 80% to 20%. The same people who prefer flat rate rents also strongly reject rent application toward ownership. Why? If these are, indeed, the less upwardly mobile tenants, or the less economically stable, it is reasonable that they would prefer long-term flat rents to the responsibility of private ownership which might entail repair costs, etc.. Also, this might be an indication of desire to be "care-free," free to move physically from house to house, or city to city.

TABLE XII

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

	SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
	62.0	34.4		
INVESTGATION				
SHOULD BHA	111	124	235	43.6
INVSTGTE OR				
ACCPT TENANT	38.0	65.6		
STATEMENT?				
TENANT STATEMENT				
	68	236	304	56.4
TOTAL	179	360	539	
PERCENT	33.2	66.8		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 35.834 (CONTINUITY CORRECTED)
SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 58.

NOTES ON TABLE XII

In general, we see that tenants are split on the issue of investigation versus acceptance of a tenant's report of his income. However, when we look at the difference between flat-rate and sliding-scale advocates, we see that the former are very much in favor of investigation. Flat-rate advocates apparently want to ensure the most flexibility in a sliding scale system by accepting the tenant's word. This might be a manoeuver similar to Goffman's "working the system." Apparently, those who advocate the sliding scale rent also realize that in order for it to be just, it must be based on accurate reports, presumably not likely to come from the tenant himself.

TABLE XIII

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
WHO MAKES RULES?	MANAGE	36.7	50.9		
		66	176	242	46.0
	HOUSE AUTHOR	58.3	43.9		
		105	152	257	48.9
	STATE LEGIST	1.1	1.7		
		2	6	8	1.5
	FEDERL LEGSL	1.7	0.6		
		3	2	5	1.0
	OTHER	2.2	2.9		
		4	10	14	2.7
	TOTAL	180	346	526	
	PERCENT	34.2	65.8		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 12.193 WITH FOUR DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.016 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 71.

NOTES

Sliding scale advocates also tend to view the housing authority rather than the manager as rule-maker. Until further controls such as race, class, and expected tenure are imposed, it cannot be known what analytical ariables underlie their preference.

TABLE XIV

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
AGE & MARITAL STATUS.	60+, MARIED	9.0 17	1.7 6	23	4.2
	60+, SINGLE	18.5 35	6.6 24	59	10.7
	40-59,MARIED	6.3 12	7.2 26	38	6.9
	40-59,SINGLE	9.5 18	8.0 29	47	8.5
	NOT 40 MAR.	34.9 66	33.6 122	188	34.1
	NOT 40 SINGI	21.7 41	43.0 156	197	35.7
TOTAL		189	363	552	
PERCENT		34.2	65.8		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 48.864 WITH FIVE DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 45.

TABLE XV

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

SOURCE OF INCOME.	SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
EMPLOYMENT	138.8	35.9		
	64	125	189	36.8
EMPLOY PLUS	11.5	9.2		
	19	32	51	9.9
OTHER ONLY	49.7	54.9		
	82	191	273	53.2
TOTAL	165	348	513	
PERCENT	32.2	67.8		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 1.422 WITH TWO DEGREES OF FREEDOM (NOT SIGNIFICANT) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 84.

NOTES

This table is probably not significant because actual income rather than its source is more vital here.

TABLE XVI

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL CLASS MOBILITY.	DOWN	0.6 1	0.3 1	2	0.4
	STABLE	11.0 18	2.5 8	26	5.4
	UP	88.3 144	97.2 308	452	94.2
TOTAL		163	317	480	
PERCENT		34.0	66.0		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 15.542 WITH TWO DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 117.

NOTES ON TABLE XVI

This table definitely tends to support the hypothesis generated by earlier tables: those who prefer flat rate are in the most unstable, competitive and mobile period of their lives. Here we see that tenants who consider their situation stable want a sliding scale rent which will reflect that constancy. Those who see themselves as being upwardly mobile (94.27%) most strongly opt for this flat scale rent, which does not take from any upward movement they in fact may achieve. (Presumably they see themselves as moving "up" out of the projects also, and so prefer to leave as little of their resources there as possible.)

TABLE XVII

ALL RESPONDENTS

SLIDING SCALE RENT

		SLIDING SCALE	FLAT RATE	TOTAL	PERCENT
	ATTNDS NOW	12.4	29.9		
		24	108	132	23.8
ATTITUDE		17.6	19.7		
TOWARD	INTERESTED	34	71	105	19.0
TENANTS		69.9	50.4		
COUNCIL.	NO INTEREST	135	182	317	57.2
	TOTAL	193	361	554	
	PERCENT	34.8	65.2		100.0

CHI SQUARE STATISTIC = 24.795 WITH TWO DEGREES OF FREEDOM
(SIGNIFICANT AT THE 0.000 LEVEL) NO. OF MISSING UNITS = 43.

SECTION IV

POLICY:

1. LEASE

2. GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

(First Page)

BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

DWELLING LEASE NO.

_____ Commencement of Term	Present Income $_____
	Pro Rata $_____
_____ Commencement of Preterm Occupancy	Rent $_____

The Boston Housing Authority (herein called the "Authority") in consideration of the rental herein reserved and in reliance upon the statements made by the person or persons named below as the Tenant or Tenants (herein called the "Tenant") as set forth in his signed application and upon the representation by the Tenant, hereby made, that his family is not an ineligible Family for the purposes of occupancy under this lease (which statements and representations are deemed material and of the essence of this lease agreement) hereby leases to the Tenant and the Tenant hereby hires and takes the premises above designated as the dwelling located in the above-described Project (herein called the "Project") for the term of one calendar month beginning on the date above-designated as the commencement of the term, at the rental above set forth for said term, payable in advance on the first day of said term, and in addition such proportionate part of such rental for the period from the commencement of preterm occupancy above set forth to the commencement of said term.

Unless terminated as herein provided this lease shall be automatically renewed for successive terms of one month each at the same rental per month payable in advance on the first day of each calendar month. The Authority may terminate this lease, without cause, on any day during any term by giving the Tenant not less than fourteen (14) days prior notice in writing. From the time of termination of this lease for any cause, and unless otherwise agreed between the Tenant and the Authority, the Tenant shall be liable for and shall pay to the Authority for the use and occupancy of the premises an amount determined by the rent and income standards established by the Authority as applied to the income of the Tenant and his family. The Tenant may terminate this lease, without cause, on any day during any term by giving the Authority not less than fourteen (14) days prior notice in writing. In the event the premises herein leased shall be so damaged by fire or other casualty as to be untenantable, this lease shall thereupon terminate. In the event that the Authority determines that the aggregate annual income of the Tenant exceeds the income limits for the rental which the Tenant is paying, the Authority may require that the Tenant forthwith pay the rental

established for the next appropriate higher grade. In the event that the family of the Tenant shall at any time become an Ineligible Family for the purposes of occupancy under this lease, this lease shall thereupon terminate and be surrendered by the Tenant and the premises shall be promptly vacated. In the event this lease is terminated and the premises vacated on a day other than the last day of a term for which the full rental has been paid, the Authority will reimburse the Tenant for that portion of the term during which the dwelling was not occupied.

The Tenant hereby covenants and agrees:

(a) To pay said rental at the Management Office of the Authority on or before the first day of the month when said rent shall be due and payable, and to pay when billed for any damage to any of the premises or equipment of the Authority which the Authority shall determine to have resulted directly or indirectly from causes within the control of the Tenant or his family.

(b) Not to assign this lease nor to provide housing shelter to persons other than the family group without the approval of the Boston Housing Authority.

(c) To notify the Authority immediately of any change in the facts in his signed application concerning the income of the Tenant or of his family or of the family size; to submit to the Authority, as and when requested by the Authority, a signed statement in such form as the Authority may request, and under oath if so requested setting forth the facts as to the income of himself and of his family and as to the number and ages of members of his family. In the event that the Tenant fails to report a decrease in the number of minors in the family and/or increase in the family income the tenant shall be backcharged for the amount of rent which the Tenant would have been obligated to pay had he reported said changes at the time when they occurred, and the Tenant hereby agrees to and shall pay such backcharge as and for rent for the period covered by such backcharge.

(d) To quit and surrender the premises herein leased promptly upon the expiration or termination of this lease, in good order and repair, reasonable wear and tear excepted;

(e) To comply with the conditions of occupancy set forth in this lease, which conditions of occupancy are hereby made part of this lease;

(f) To deposit with the Authority the sum of Ten (10) Dollars in advance of his occupancy of the premises under this lease to assure payment for the cost of any keys lost by the Tenant or for other charges against the Tenant, and further to assure fulfillment of the obligation of the Tenant to leave the premises clean and presentable upon the surrender thereof, such deposit to be refunded

without interest upon such surrender provided the Tenant has paid in full all rent and other charges then due and has (a) left the premises in a clean and sanitary condition; (b) cleaned all floors thoroughly on the day of such surrender; (c) cleaned all bathroom and kitchen fixtures thoroughly; (d) cleaned the sinks, range, refrigerator and kitchen cupboard thoroughly; (e) left the window shades clean and in good operating condition; and (f) returned all keys to the premises; otherwise the Tenant shall forfeit this deposit.

In the event that the Tenant's family shall decrease or increase in number so as to warrant a smaller or larger size dwelling unit, the Tenant agrees to accept upon offer by the Authority a lease of such smaller or larger unit according to the project occupancy standards established by the Authority, but otherwise on terms similar to this lease. In the event that the Tenant refuses to accept such an offer by the Authority, this lease shall be terminated upon such offer, and the premises shall be promptly vacated and surrendered by the Tenant.

The Authority agrees to furnish during this lease heat, water, electricity and gas adequate for the normal requirements of Tenant, including cooking, light and food refrigeration but excluding air-conditioners, clothes-dryers and deep freezers, but the Authority shall not be liable for failure to supply the above services for any cause whatsoever. Tenant covenants and agrees hereby that he will not consume electricity and/or gas in excess of such normal requirements, as determined by the Authority. For any breach of such covenant, the Authority may terminate this lease. In any event the Tenant shall be liable for and shall pay the Authority for such breach damages in such amount, not exceeding the value of such excess gas or electricity consumed by Tenant, as the Authority shall determine. (This paragraph not applicable to Project Boston 200-10.)

Any notice to the Tenant required by law or otherwise shall be sufficient if delivered to the Tenant personally, or if left at the premises leased herein by a representative of the Authority, or sent by mail to the premises leased herein. Notice to the Authority must be in writing and delivered to the Housing Manager personally or sent by mail to the Management Office.

In the event that there shall be more than one person named herein as "Tenant" the covenants and agreements on the part of the "Tenant", as set forth herein, shall be joint and several covenants and agreements of all persons so named as "Tenants".

This lease evidences the entire agreement between the Authority and the Tenant and no changes shall be made except by a writing signed by the Housing Manager.

BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

By_____ _____

HOUSING MANAGER TENANT

(Second Page)

CONDITIONS OF OCCUPANCY

1. Rent is due and payable on the first day of the month.

2. The Tenant and members of his household, guest and employees shall comply with all laws and city ordinances affecting the use or occupation of the premises, and with all reasonable rules and regulations now or hereafter adopted by the Authority for the safety, com rt and welfare of the occupants of the projects.

3. The Tenant shall not carry on any business whatsoever nor display signs of any type including political signs in or about the premises.

4. The Tenant shall not waste or unreasonably use water, electricity or gas.

5. All legal costs and charges incurred by the Boston Housing Authority in connection with any eviction action brought by the Authority may be charged to the Tenant and the Tenant hereby agrees to pay the same. The charge to the Tenant for service of the notice to quit, when delivered by an employee of the Authority shall be One (1) Dollar, and when served by a constable shall be the same as the constable charges to the Boston Housing Authority. Legal charges shall include the charge or cost of serving the notice to quit, the cost of serving of the eviction writ, of the entry fee of the action in court, of the demand for the premises by the constable, and of the constable's charges for eviction including trucking and storage charges, if any.

6. The Tenant shall at all times keep the dwelling and fixtures therein in a clean and sanitary condition.

7. The Tenant will comply with reasonable directions of the Authority concerning the maintenance in a clean and orderly manner of the public halls and stairways on which the dwelling abuts and the yards and other areas in the front and rear of the dwelling, and concerning the removal of snow from the front and rear of the dwelling.

8. The Tenant shall not sell or give accommodations in the premises to any boarders, lodgers, or roomers, including relatives not in the family group.

9. The Tenant shall not make alterations or repairs to the premises or of the equipment therein and shall not install any additional locks or fixtures, nor plumbing connections for washing machines.

10. The Tenant will be held strictly responsible for any loss or damage to other dwellings resulting from overflow from toilets, sinks, bathtubs, or basins in his dwelling, caused by the negligence or wilful misconduct of the Tenant or one for whose conduct the Tenant is responsible as determined by the Authority.

11. The Tenant shall report to the Management Office at once any accident or injury to water pipes, toilets, drains, or fixtures, electric wires or fixtures, or other property of the Authority and all breakage, damage or loss of any kind.

12. The Tenant shall immediately report to the Management Office and to the appropriate health authority any case of infections or contagious disease occurring in the premises.

13. The Tenant shall not use or keep inflammable materials such as oil or kerosene on the premises nor use any method of heating other than that supplied by the Authority.

14. The Tenant's lease does not include the right to use the interior community facilities in the project, bu the Authority may in its descretion extend the privilege to use such facilities to the Tenant. The Tenant must make application for written permission to use such facilities.

15. The Tenant shall not permit his children to play in public halls, elevators, stairways, walks, or restricted areas. Convenient play areas have been provided for this purpose.

16. No baby carriages, bicycles, tricycles, or similar article will be allowed to stand in the public halls, passageways or gardens. Baby carriages may be kept in the baby carriage room.

17. Sidewalks, passages, public halls, stairways, fire escapes, and vestibules shall not be obstructed, nor be used for any purpose other than ingress to or egress from dwellings.

18. No tacks, nails, or other fasteners or cement shall be used in laying carpets, rugs or linoleum on the floors of the Tenant's dwelling.

19. No nails, bolts, or screws shall be placed in the walls, floors, doors, or trim, and all electric wiring shall be done or supervised by the Authority. No wallpapers or decals shall be allowed on the walls.

20. No shades, awnings or window guards shall be used except as shall be put up or approved by the Authority.

21. No clothing or articles of any description shall be hung from the windows or doors or placed on the window sills. Nothing whatsoever shall be thrown from the windows or swept or thrown out of the doors of any dwelling.

22. Plumbing and electrical equipment shall not be used for any purposes other than those for which they were constructed.

23. No aerial wires including television antennae shall be installed on the buildings or hung from the windows.

24. The Authority or its representatives shall have the right to enter the Tenant's premises during all reasonable hours to examine the same or to make such repairs, additions, or alterations as the Authority may deem necessary for the preservation thereof or of the building; or to exhibit the said premises; or for the purpose of removing placards, signs, fixtures, alterations, or additions in the premises which are in violation of the Tenant's lease or of these conditions of occupancy.

25. The Authority in all cases shall retain the right to control and prevent access into the buildings and grounds of all persons whom it considers undesirable.

26. The Authority shall have the right without further notice, to sell or otherwise dispose of any personal property left on the premises or in the project by the Tenant after the Tenant vacates the premises.

27. All personal property placed in the premises shall be at the risk of the Tenant or owner of said personal property and the Authority will not be responsible for any damage to such personal property from any cause.

28. The Authority shall not be responsible for articles left with any employee.

29. Amendments hereto and Rules and Regulations and Special Rules and Regulations for the use of social and recreational spaces will be made from time to time and posted on the bulletin board. The Tenant agrees to comply therewith.

30. The Tenant shall comply with all assignments for the drying of clothes, and for baby carriage space made by the Housing Manager.

31. Tenant shall not keep cats, dogs, or other animals or birds in his dwelling, or within the project.

32. Unregistered automobiles parked on the premises of the Boston Housing Authority will be removed at the expense of the Tenant.

33. The Authority is not responsible for the removal of snow in the parking areas within the development.

34. Heat will be supplied during the winter but the heating plants themselves will not ordinarily operate on a continuous twenty-four hour basis.

PROPOSED LEASE FOR BOSTON PUBLIC HOUSING

Boston Housing Authority

Lease #_____

Rent: The Boston Housing Authority (BHA) leases to the Tenant _____ apartment #_____ floor #_____ located at _____ for a monthly rental of $_____.

The rent is payable in advance at the local Management Office of the BHA on the first day of each month, beginning_____ 1, 19____.

The Tenant must give the BHA a $10 deposit before he moves into the apartment.

If the Tenant moves into the apartment before the beginning of the month, the Tenant must pay in advance the balance of the monthly rent due from that date to the date of the first full month's rent: $._____. (Balance due if Tenant moves in before the first of the month.)

Reasons for Eviction The BHA may evict the Tenant for the following reasons only:

(1) If the Tenant's family becomes an Ineligible Family as defined by the resolutions of the BHA.

Reasons for Eviction

(2) If the Tenant does not send the BHA a signed statement concerning the income, number and ages of the members of his family within 30 days after the BHA requests it (see page 5, #7 for more complete details).

(3) If the Tenant by continually violating his duties under the lease

(a) creates a threat to the health, safety or morals of those in the project; or

(b) shows an intentional or complete disregard for these duties.

(4) If the Tenant makes false statements in his signed application for admission.

(5) If the Tenant develops a (pattern) history of non-payment or late payment of his rent.

(6) If the Tenant assigns (transfers) this lease to anyone else.

How the BHA May Evict The Tenant

To evict the Tenant for any of the above reasons, the BHA must give the Tenant thirty days notice in writing stating the exact reason for the eviction. This notice must be delivered to the Tenant personally by the project manager or his assistant. If after a good faith attempt the Tenant cannot be contacted personally, the BHA may serve this notice by mailing it to the Tenant's apartment.

How the Tenant May End the Lease:

The Tenant may end this lease at any time by giving the BHA 14 days written notice before he expects to move out of his apartment.

This written notice must be either delivered to the housing manager personally or sent by mail to the local Management Office.

Other Ways the Lease May be Ended:

(1) If because of fire or other casualty (cause) the apartment can no longer be occupied, the lease will end.

(2) (a) If the Tenant's family decreases or increases so that a smaller or larger apartment is required under the occupancy standards of the BHA, the BHA may offer the Tenant a new lease to another apartment. But if the Tenant requests it, this offer must be limited to an apartment in the same project.

(b) If the Tenant does not accept the BHA ofer within sixty days after it is made, this lease will end and the Tenant must move out of the apartment.

Duties of the Tenant:

(1) The Tenant must pay his rent at the local Management Office on or before the first day of each month.

(2) The Tenant may not assign (transfer) this lease to anyone.

Duties of the Tenant

(3) When the Tenant moves out of his apartment, he must leave it in clean, good order and repair excluding:

(a) reasonable wear and tear, and

(b) damage by fire or other cause not the Tenant's fault.

(4) (a) Before the Tenant moves into his apartment, he must give the BHA a $10 DEPOSIT.

(b) This deposit must be returned to the Tenant when he moves out of the apartment less any

(1) rent owed by the Tenant, and

(2) costs necessary to put his apartment in clean, good order and repair, excluding:

(a) reasonable wear and tear, and

(b) damage by fire or other cause not the tenant's fault.

(c) The Tenant agrees that the $10 DEPOSIT shall be invested by the BHA in government securities or in federally insured buildings and loan association accounts (or in federally insured savings accounts) and that the income from such investment shall be paid to the project's Modernization Committee.

(d) The BHA may sell or dispose of all personal property that the Tenant leaves behind after moving out of his apartment.

Duties of the Tenant

(5) (a) The Tenant shall not use more gas or electricity than he reasonably needs.

(b) If he does, the Tenant must pay the BHA the cost of the extra gas or electricity he used (not applicable to project Boston 200-10).

(c) This cost must be separately billed to the Tenant and, if the Tenant does not pay, may be collected by a separate civil court action only, and may not be added to the Tenant's rent.

(6) (a) The Tenant must immediately inform the Management Office of any change in his or his family's income or family size from the date he signed the application for admission.

(b) If the Tenant reports an increase in family size or a decrease in total yearly income, the BHA must lower the Tenant's rent to the level set by the BHA for the Tenant's total yearly income and family size from the date it receives the report.

(c) If BHA determines or the Tenant reports a decrease in family size or an increase in total yearly income, the BHA may

(1) raise the Tenant's rent to the level set by the BHA for the Tenant's total yearly income and family size; and

Duties of the Tenant

(2) charge the Tenant for the additional rent he should have paid if he had reported the change as required; the Tenant shall be allowed to pay this back rent in equal monthly installments over a one year period.

(7) If the BHA requests it, the Tenant must give the BHA a signed statement listing:

(a) his or his family's income, and

(b) the number and ages of the members of his family.

(8) The Tenant, members of his household and guests must obey all reasonable rules and regulations now or later adopted by the BHA for the safety, comfort and welfare of Tenants and families in the project.

(9) The Tenant shall not carry on any business in or around his apartment unless approved by the BHA.

(10) The Tenant shall not sell or rent space in his apartment to anyone.

(11) The Tenant shall not make alterations or repairs to the apartment or to any BHA property, and shall not install fixtures or plumbing connections for washing machines without the approval of the BHA.

Duties of the Tenant

(12) The Tenant shall not use or keep inflammable material such as oil or kerosene in his apartment, nor use any method of heating other than that supplied by the BHA, except in case of emergency.

(13) The Tenant shall not permit his children to play in elevators and must supervise his minor children so that they do not interfere with the safety and comfort of other tenants and families.

(14) The Tenant shall not allow his property to block sidewalks, passages, public halls, stairways, fire escapes and vestibules.

(15) The Tenant shall not use tacks, nails or other fasteners or cement in laying carpets, rugs or linoleum on the floors of the Tenant's apartment except as approved by the BHA.

(16) The Tenant shall not use awnings or window guards unless put up or approved by the BHA.

(17) The Tenant shall not install on the building or hang from an apartment window aerial wires or television antennae.

(18) The Tenant shall comply with all assignments for the drying of clothes, and for baby carriage space made by the Housing Manager.

(19) Tenant shall not keep cats, dogs, or other animals or birds in his apartment or within the project.

Duties of the Tenant

(20) (a) If the Tenant or some one of his family group intentionally or negligently damages the apartment or any other property or equipment of the BHA, the Tenant shall be liable for the cost of repairs.

(b) This cost shall be separately billed to the Tenant and, if the tenant does not pay, may be collected by a civil court action only, and may not be added to his rent as an extra charge.

(21) The Tenant shall not make nor allow his family, relatives or other guests to make any disturbing noises in his apartment or building nor do anything that will interfere with the rights, comfort or convenience of other Tenants.

(22) The Tenant shall promptly notify the Management Office of any damage to the apartment or any need to replace or repair other BHA property.

(23) The Tenant shall maintain his apartment in a clean condition and shall not sweep nor throw, nor permit to be swept or thrown, from his apartment any dirt waste, rubbish or other materials into other parts of the building or onto the outside grounds.

(24) The Tenant shall not park an unregistered automobile on the property of the BHA; if he does, the BHA may have it removed at the tenant's expense.

BHA
Duties: (1) (a) The BHA shall supply heat, hot and cold running water, electricity, and gas adequate for the normal requirements of the Tenant, including cooking, light, and food refrigeration but excluding air conditioners and clothes dryers.

(b) The BHA shall be liable for damages to the Tenant or his family group for failure to supply these services if this failure is due to the fault of the BHA.

(2) If the lease ends and the Tenant moves out of the apartment before the last day of the month for which the Tenant has paid rent, the BHA shall repay that part of the monthly rent that applies to the part of the month the Tenant did not occupy his apartment.

(3) The BHA may not charge the Tenant any fines or fees, nor may the BHA bill the tenant for any charges except those specifically mentioned elsewhere in this lease.

(4) The BHA may not enter the Tenant's apartment without the Tenant's express permission, except in an emergency. The Tenant, on the other hand, agrees not to unreasonably withhold his permission.

(5) The BHA shall be responsible for damage it intentionally or negligently causes to the property or person of the Tenant or his family group.

BHA Duties:

(6) The BHA shall give the Tenant a written receipt for any money received from the Tenant under this lease.

(7) The BHA shall give the Tenant a copy of all its existing regulations and resolutions when the Tenant signs this lease and shall give the Tenant a copy of any new rules and resolutions as they are passed by the BHA.

(8) The BHA shall obey all city, state and federal laws regulating the use and operation of residential dwellings.

(9) The BHA shall give the tenant a copy of this lease signed by the BHA immediately after the Tenant signs this lease.

(10) The Management Office shall be open for business from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Monday through Friday; and the BHA shall supply the Tenant with a telephone number to be used for service when the Management Office is not open.

(11) (a) The BHA shall maintain the apartment and building in good condition and repair.

(b) The BHA shall promptly make repairs and replacements after it has received written notice of the need for them from the Tenant in the Management Office.

BHA Duties:

(c) If the need for these repairs or replacements was caused by the negligence or misconduct of the Tenant or a member of his family group, the BHA may charge the Tenant for the reasonable costs of the repair or replacement. These costs shall be separately billed to the tenant and, if he does not pay, may be collected by a civil court action only, and may not be added to the Tenant's rent as an additional charge.

(12) (a) The BHA shall remove all snow, ice, trash or other obstructions from the sidewalks and outside stairways and shall keep the yard areas free of hazards. However, the BHA shall not be responsible for the removal of snow in the parking areas within the project.

(b) The BHA shall have overall responsibility for rodent and vermin control and maintenance of the elevators, hallways, staircases and other common areas of the building in which the apartment is located.

(13) (a) The BHA shall, at its own expense, put the apartment into clean, good order and repair before the Tenant moves in; if the apartment has not been repainted within the preceding year, the BHA shall paint the apartment.

(b) The BHA shall repaint the apartment every three years.

Other Terms:

(1) For easier reading, the word "Tenant" is used in this lease even when more than one person signs the lease as Tenant. If more than one person signs as Tenant, each is responsible individually and jointly with the other for the tenant duties under this lease.

(2) This lease is the entire agreement between the BHA and the Tenant. No changes can be made except by another writing signed by the BHA and the Tenant.

(3) The BHA-Tenant Complaint Procedure shall apply to all disputes and claims under this lease between the BHA and Tenant. A copy of the Complaint Procedure is attached to this lease.

PLEASE NOTE: The Housing Manager is required to go over this lease with you (Tenant) and answer any of your questions. You should not sign this lease unless you fell that you understand it.

_____ Tenant(s)

_____ Boston Housing Authority

COMPLAINT PROCEDURE

INDEX

Purpose

The Boston Housing Authority and the tenants have a common interest in the prompt resolution of disputes in a context of mutual confidence. Therefore, this Agreement encourages the discussion of differences through good faith dialogue and provides a structure within which disputes may be permanently resolved. The Boston Housing Authority and the Tenants agree that an effective resolution of complaints depends on avoiding unilateral action through the application of this Procedure.

Scope

This procedure applies to all differences, grievances and disputes between the tenants or the Tenant Organization and the BHA. The BHA, the tenants and the Tenant Organization agree not to use any other procedure for the resolution of complaints which arise under this procedure.

Definitions: As used in this procedure, the following terms mean:

a. Agreement: the signed statement between the tenant and the BHA which sets forth that which each or both are to do to resolve a complaint.

b. BHA: Boston Housing Authority

c. Complaint: all differences, grievances and disputes between the tenants, the Tenant Organization and the BHA.

d. Complaint Notice: the signed complaint which is sent to the Hearing Officer and which sets forth the issues to be discussed at the hearing.

e. Hearing Officer: the independent third party chosen by the Tenant Organization and the BHA.

f. Lease: the lease signed by the BHA and the tenant.

g. Project Manager: the general supervisor of a BHA housing development.

h. Tenant: anyone signing the lease as tenant as well as any member of his family group.

i. Tenant Organization: the representative group of tenants who undertake the processing of tenant complaints.

j. Tenant Representative: the representative of the _____ Tenant Organization [to be filled in with the name of the Tenant Organization].

A. How the Tenant Complains:

Step 1. The Tenant must first notify the Management Office of his complaint.

a. The Management shall immediately reduce the complaint to writing, indicating the name, address and telephone number of the tenant, and send a copy to the Tenant Representative.

b. The Tenant and Management shall make all reasonable efforts to settle the complaint.

Step 2. If the complaint is not settled, the tenant may notify his Representative.

a. The Tenant Representative shall immediately file a written request for a meeting within one week with the Tenant and the Tenant Representative.

1. If such a request is immediately filed, a notice of eviction or an assessment of charges will be suspended until a final determination is made.

b. The Tenant Representative and the Project Manager shall then determine a convenient time and place for all the parties to meet.

c. All parties shall make a good faith attempt to reach an agreement on the complaints.

[As an alternative to 2a and 2b, the Tenant Representative and the Project Manager might be required to meet on a periodic basis (eg. once a week) to discuss the resolution of complaints--of the Manager as well as of the Tenant. The Tenant might be required to attend if deemed advisable by either the Project Manager or the Tenant Representative.]

Step 3 If no agreement is reached, then:

a. The Tenant Representative may request a meeting with a representative of the BHA Central Office. If the complaint involves an assessment of charges or an eviction notice and the Tenant Representative does not wish to make this request, the Tenant may do so.

1. This request must be (a) in writing and (b) given within one week of the failure to agree in Step 2.

2. If no request is made within this one week period, the Manager's decision shall be final.

b. The BHA must then set a convenient time for a meeting, at the project, but not later than two weeks from the date it receives the request.

Step 4 If no agreement is reached, then:

a. The Tenant Representative may request a hearing before the Hearing Officer. If the complaint involves an assessment of charges or an eviction notice <u>and</u> the Tenant Representative

does not wish to make this request, the Tenant may do so.

1. This request must be (a) in writing and (b) given within one week of the failure to agree in Step 3.
2. A copy of this written request must be sent to the BHA Central Office.
3. If no request is filed within this one-week period, the Boston Housing Authority decision shall be final.

b. The Hearing Officer shall immediately set a date and place within the project for the Hearing.

B. <u>How the Tenant Organization Complains</u>:

a. If the Tenant Organization has a complaint, it must take the same steps that apply to a Tenant under this procedure (ie, How the Tenant Complains).

C. <u>How the Boston Housing Authority Complains</u>:

Step 1. The Project Manager must first notify the tenant of any complaint and attempt to reach a satisfactory solution.

a. However, in an emergency, the Project Manager, after making a reasonable attempt to notify the tenant, may take any necessary action that is consistent with the lease.

Step 2. If a solution cannot be reached, the project manager may take any necessary action on the complaint that is consistent with the lease.

a. The Project Manager must immediately notify the Tenant Representative in writing of his complaint and of any action taken or to be taken.

Step 3 If the tenant is dissatisfied with the action taken by the Project Manager, he may start the tenant complaint procedure at A. How the Tenant Complains--step 2.

D. Failure to Comply with an Agreement:

1. If an agreement is reached at any step in this procedure but is not fulfilled adequately by either party, within a reasonable time or within the time agreed upon, then:

   a. If the BHA fails to comply, the Representative, at the tenant's request, in writing, shall notify the BHA and the Hearing Officer within one week of the failure to comply with the agreement, or

   b. If the tenant fails to comply, the BHA may notify, in writing, the Tenant Representative and the Hearing Officer within one week of the failure to comply with the agreement.

2. After receipt of this written Notice, the Hearing Officer shall set a date and designate a place within the project for a hearing under the rules of the Hearing Procedure. The Hearing date shall be within two weeks of the date of the Complaint Notice.

E. Hearing Procedure:

1. Jurisdiction

If no agreement can be reached on the complaint, or if an agreement has been reached with which there has not been compliance, the complaint may be submitted for a Hearing by the Tenant Representative or the BHA, if the complaint involves:

1. issues arising under the lease

2. sanctions sought to be imposed by the BHA on the tenant

3. claims of abuse or misuse of authority exercised by management personnel

4. compliance with the terms of an agreement reached under this Procedure.

2. Powers

a. The Hearing Officer shall also have the power to:

1. set a date and a time for the Hearing

2. designate a hearing site in the project wherein the complaint arose

3. establish rules for the conduct of hearings

4. make investigations

5. make findings

6. make recommendations

7. establish rules for the conduct of hearings.

b. The decision of the Hearing Officer shall be binding on all parties and shall be stare decisis as to any other decision by a future Hearing Officer. The decision shall be made promptly--not later than three days from the close of the hearing.

3. Presentation

Any party may be represented at the Hearing.

4. Hearing

a. The Hearing Officer shall be chosen by agreement between the Tenant Organization and the BHA. He shall serve for

a period of one year. In case of his death or inability to serve, the parties shall select a new Hearing Officer within five days.

Name of Hearing Officer_____

Address_____

Phone_____

b. The Hearing Officer should encourage a voluntary settlement of disputes between parties. If a settlement cannot be reached, the Hearing Officer shall have the power, after making an independent determination of the facts, to make a final and binding decision.

c. Where the parties have reached an agreement, the Hearing Officer shall restrict the Hearing to the issue of compliance.

5. Maintenance of Records

The BHA shall maintain accurate records concerning the resolution of all complaints between Tenants, Tenant Organizations and the Boston Housing Authority.

SECTION V

DEFINITIONS

QUESTIONNAIRE

DEFINITIONS

For Use With Project Environment Analysis

From: 1950 United States Census of Housing--Block Statistics--Boston, Massachusetts

Dwelling Unit: "In general, a dwelling unit is a group of rooms or a single room, occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters, by a family or other group of persons living together or by a person living alone.

Excluded from the dwelling unit count are large rooming houses, institutions, dormitories and transient hotels and tourist courts."

Condition and Plumbing Facilities: "Data on condition of a dwelling unit are shown in connection with data for selected plumbing facilities and are, therefore, limited to units for which both condition and plumbing facilities are reported. Plumbing facilities include water supply, toilet facilities and bathing facilities.

The category 'with private bath' includes those dwelling units reported with both a flush toilet and a bathtub or shower inside the structure for the exclusive use of the occupants of the unit. The category 'no private bath' includes those dwelling units not having private flush toilet or not having private bathing facilities. The 'no running water' category includes units with only piped running water outside the structure or with only other sources such as a hand pump.

A dwelling unit is 'dilapidated' when it is run-down or neglected, or is of inadequate original construction, so that it does not provide adequate shelter or protection against the elements or it endangers the safety of the occupants."

From: 1960 United States Census of Housing--City Blocks--Boston, Massachusetts

"The main difference between housing units and dwelling units is as follows: in 1960, separate living quarters consisting of one room with direct access but without separate cooking equipment, qualify as a housing unit whether in an apartment house, rooming or house converted to apartment use; in hotels, a single room qualifies as a housing unit if occupied by a person who has no usual residence elsewhere. In 1950, a one-room unit without cooking equipment qualified as a dwelling unit only when located in a regular apartment house or when the room constituted the only living quarters in the structure."

Condition and Plumbing: "Data are presented on conditions and plumbing facilities in combination. The categories represent various levels of housing qulity. To measure condition, the enumerator classified each housing unit in one of three categories: sound, deteriorating, or dilapidated. Plumbing facilities were measured in terms of water supply, toilet and bathing facilities.

CONDITION: The enumerator determined the condition of the housing unit by observation, on the basis of specified criteria. Nevertheless, the application of these criteria involved some judgment on the part of the individual enumerator. The training program for enumerators was designed to minimize differences in judgment.

Sound housing is defined as that which has no defects, or only slight defects which are normally corrected during the course of

regular maintenance. Examples of slight defects include: lack of paint; slight damage to porch or steps; small cracks in walls, plaster, or chimney; broken gutters or down spouts; slight wear on floors or doorsills.

Deteriorating housing needs more repairs than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance. It has one or more defects of an intermediate nature that must be corrected if the unit is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter. Examples of intermediate defects include: shaky or unsafe porch or steps; holes, open cracks, or missing materials over a small area of the floors, walls, or roof; rotted window sills or frames; deep wear on stairs, floors of doorsills; brcken or loose stair treads or missing balusters. Such defects are signs of neglect which lead to serious structural deterioration or damage if not corrected.

Dilapidated housing does not provide safe and adequate shelter. It has one or more critical defects; or has a combination of intermediate defects in sufficient number to require extensive repair or rebuilding; or is of inadequate original construction. Critical defects result from continued neglect or indicate serious damage to the structure. Examples of critical defects include: holes, open cracks or missing materials over a large area of the floors, walls, roof, or other parts of the structure; sagging floors, walls, or roof; damage by storm or fire. Inadequate original construction includes structures built of makeshift materials and inadequately converted cellars, sheds or garages not originally intended as living quarters.

In 1950, the enumerator classified each unit in one of two categories, not dilapidated or dilapidated, as compared with the

three categories of sound, deteriorating and dilapidated in 1960. Although the definition of 'dilapidated' was the same in 1960 as in 1950, it is possible that the change in the categories introduced an element of difference between the 1960 and 1950 statistics.

Plumbing: The category 'With all plumbing facilities' consists of units which have hot and cold piped water inside the structure, and flush toilet and bathtub (or shower) inside the structure for the exclusive use of the occupants of the unit. Equipment is for exclusive use when it is used only by the persons in the one housing unit, including any lodgers living in the unit.

The category 'lacking some or all facilities' consists of units which do not have all the plumbing facilities specified above. Units without hot water, toilet, or bathtub (or shower) are included in this category. Also included are units whose occupants share toilet or bathing facilities with the occupants of another housing unit.

The category 'Lacking some or all facilities--no flush toilet' consists of units for which there is no flush toilet available in the structure. These units may lack other plumbing facilities also.

The categories of plumbing facilities presented in the 1960 report are not comparable with those in the 1950 report. The 1950 category 'No running water or dilapidated' consisted of units that were either dilapidated or lacked running water inside the structure. The category 'No private bath or dilapidated' consisted of all the units in the above category plus those that had running water but lacked a flush toilet or bathtub (or shower) inside the structure for the exclusive use of the occupants."

NOTE: In the 1950 report, the categories 'No running water or dilapidated' and 'No private bath or dilapidated' may overlap. For example, there might be 1,000 units in the area, 560 might be in the first category (running water or dilap.) and 520 might be in the second category (no private bath or dilap.). For 1960, however, the number of units which are deteriorating and the number that are dilapidated are completely independent.

Frank L. Sweetser

The Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston, 1960.

Median School Years--adults 25 years old or older.

Social Rank "This index is based on the two factors of percentages of adults with eighth-grade education or less, and percentages (of both sexes) in the blue-collar occupations, equally weighted, and with scores inverted and standardized on the distribution of the index from 0 to 100 in the census tracts of Los Angeles, 1940 . . . the pattern of social rank thus derived is much like the patterns of occupational, educational and income distribution . . ."

Males Unemployed "One generally recognized indicator of occupational stability, as well as the 'health' of the economy of a nation, region, or a community is the unemployment rate. In Census definition, the labor force is made up of two groups: (a) the employed (those persons either actually at work the week preceding the Census date--April 11, 1960--or those who held a job to which they would go following vacation, temporary lay off, or recent appointment); and (b) the unemployed (those who did not work the week prior to the Census, who held no job, and who were actively seeking one)."

Index of Housing Quality "Two components were used: "A," per cent of housing units lacking plumbing facilities (other than hot water) of dilapidated; and "B," per cent of housing units lacking central heat."

Rank Values Were Assigned to Each Tract on Each Component: "Rank values from 0-455 were assigned to the tracts by locating the per cent for each component in an array of the per cents for that component for the 455 tracts for which the Index was calculated in 1950, and giving the 1960 tract the rank value it would have had if included in the 1950 array.

Index formula is: $\frac{2A + B}{3(455)}$ components expressed as equivalent 1950 ranks"

"The Index thus ranges from (approximately) 0 to 100, increasing as the housing quality declines, and it is standardized on the 1950 rank order of the components to permit comparisons between 1950 and 1960."

"For the Index of housing quality it must be noted that high values . . . mean poor quality since the Index was originally constructed to accentuate areas of housing need as manifested in housing units which are dilapidated or lacking in a bath or central heat."

STUDY OF PUBLIC HOUSING

1, 2, 3. Interview No. _____

4. Interviewer _____
Date _____

5. Name of Project _____
Floor _____

6. Race of Interviewee _____

7. Sex of Interviewee _____

Hello. I'm part of a study that Boston University is doing. We are interested in the attitudes of people who live in housing projects. We think that by collecting information on how people feel about housing projects, we will be able to help make housing policies better in the future. We would like you to help us by answering some questions. Your name will not be put on the interview and everything you say will be kept secret. After I have finished the interview, we can chat about it if you want to and I will answer any questions about it that I can. The study is not connected with the Housing Authority or with the government.

Note: Interviewers are not to suggest answers unless specified.

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

All apartments need repairs at one time or another. I am going to read you a list of things that often go wrong in apartments and I would like you to tell me if any of these things have needed repair since you've lived in this apartment. (CHECK YES ANSWERS.) (INCLUDE ALL COMMENTS MADE BY INTERVIEWEE.)

8. 1/ plumbing--things like the sink, toilet, bathtub, shower ____ 2/ electrical wiring, such as lights___
3/ windows____ 4/ plaster____ 5/ paint____
6/ locks on doors, windows____
7/ appliances such as the refrigerator and stove____
8/
9/
10/ other_____ (SPECIFY) 11/ nothing____

9. Did you do anything when these things (this thing) needed to be fixed?
1/ no_____ yes____
IF YES, what did you do?
2/ fixed it by self (or husband)____
3/ had friend fix it____ 4/ called private repairman____
5/ had relative fix it____ 6/ called management____
7/ other_____ (SPECIFY)
(IF INTERVIEWEE DID DIFFERENT THINGS FOR DIFFERENT PROBLEMS, INDICATE WHAT WAS DONE UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS.)_____
_____

IF THEY HAVE CALLED THE MANAGEMENT:

10. When you told the management your problem(s), did they generally get it (them) fixed?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, how long did it take them to fix it?
2/ immediately____ 3/ up to a week____
4/ up to a month____ 5/ over a month____

11. Did they come to inspect the problem after you called them?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, how long did it take them after you got in touch with them?
2/ immediately____ 3/ up to a week____
4/ up to a month____ 5/ over a month____

IF MANAGEMENT MADE REPAIRS:

12. Did the management fix things all right?
1/ yes____ no____
IF NO, why not?_____
_____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

13. IF NO, did you do anything about it?
1/ no____ 2/ fixed it by self (or husband)____
3/ had friend fix it____ 4/ called private repairman____
5/ had relative fix it____ 6/ called management again____
7/ other_____(SPECIFY)

14. Do you know of anyone who gets better service from the management than you do?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, why do they get better service_____
_____

IF NO, why not?_____
_____

15. Do you think service would be different if you lived in an apartment house that wasn't in the project?
1/ yes____ 2/ no____

16. IF YES, how would it be better?
1/ faster____ 2/ better quality____ 3/ other_____
_____ (SPECIFY)

Many people living in different places are bothered by things within the building where they live or around the area where the building is. I am going to read you a list of things that bother some people and I would like you to tell me if you have found them to be problems.

	IF YES, COMMENT
17. 1/ cleanliness and repair of hallway____	_____
2/ cleanliness of sidewalks and grass, etc. in the project____	_____
3/ noise either inside or outside the building____	_____
4/ things available in the playground and recreation area____	_____
5/ unsatisfactory laundry area____	_____
6/ trouble with garbage collection____	_____
7/ other_____	
8/ nothing____	

IF NOTHING BOTHERS INTERVIEWEE, GO ON TO QUESTION # 20.

18. Have you ever done anything about these things that bother you?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what?_____
_____(SPECIFY WHAT INTERVIEWEE DID ABOUT WHICH PROBLEM.)

19. Were these problems corrected?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES AND TENANT HAD DONE SOMETHING ABOUT THEM: Do you think your action helped in correcting the problem?
2/ yes____ 3/ no____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

20. Some people say that they are afraid in housing projects, while others feel safe. Are you afraid living here or do you feel reasonably safe?
1/ afraid____ 2/ safe____ Why? (afraid) _____
Why? (safe) _____

21. Is there any trouble in this project?
1/no____ yes____
IF YES, who causes it?
2/ tenants____ 3/ outsiders_____(SPECIFY)

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

I would like to ask you a few questions about your background.

22. In what state (or country) were you born?_____

23. Were you brought up in the country or the city?
1/ country____ 2/ city____

24. How many children do you have?
1/ one____ 2/ two____ 3/ three____ 4/ four____
5/ five____ 6/six____ 7/ seven____ 8/ eight____
9/ nine____ 10/ ten or more____ none____

25. Is your age:
1/ under 20____ 2/ between 20 and 30____
3/ between 30 and 40____ 4/ between 40 and 50____
5/ between 50 and 60____ 6/ over 60____

26. Are you:
1/ single____ 2/ married____ 3/ separated____
4/ divorced____ 5/ widowed____

IF NOT MARRIED, SKIP TO QUESTION 28.

IF MARRIED: Is this your first marriage?
1/ yes____ 2/ no____

27. Is your spouse employed outside the home?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what is his (her) occupation?_____

28. Are you employed outside the home?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what is your occupation?_____

29. Do you receive any public financial aid?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what kind?
2/ ADC____ 3/ Welfare____ 4/ Disability____
5/ Veterans____ 6/ OAA____ 7/ Social Security____
8/ Other____

30. What year of school did you complete?
1/ grammar school (through 6th)____
2/ junior high (through 8th)____
3/ high school (through 12th)____
4/ began college____ 5/ finished college____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

Now I would like to go on to ask you a few questions about your apartment.

31. How many people live in this apartment with you? (INCLUDING INTERVIEWEE)
    1/ one____ 2/ two____ 3/ three____ 4/four____
    5/ five____ 6/ six____ 7/ seven____ 8/ eight____
    9/ nine____ 10/ ten____ 11/ more than ten____

32. Besides you (and your children), who else lives with you?
    1/ spouse____ 2/ mother____ 3/ father____
    4/ mother-in-law____ 5/ father-in-law____
    6/ brother(s)____ 7/ sister(s)____ 8/ other relative_____
    _____(SPECIFY) 9/ other non-relative_____(SPECIFY)

33. Is anyone living with you(including yourself) who is:
    1/ a veteran____ 2/ over 65____ 3/ disabled____

34. How long have you lived in this apartment?
    1/ under 6 months____ 2/ between 6 months & 1 year____
    3/ between 1 & 2 years____ 4/ between 2 & 3 years____
    5/ between 3 & 5 years____ 6/ over 5 years____

35. Before you moved into this apartment, where did you live?
    1/ private apartment rental____
    2/ public housing in another project____
    3/ elsewhere in this project____ 4/ own home____
    5/ other_____(SPECIFY)

36. How long do you think that you will stay in this apartment?
    1/ less than six months____ 2/ less than a year____
    3/ longer than a year____ 4/ over 5 years____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

Now I'd like to go on to another subject and talk with you about friends and acquaintances that you have. Some people like to have a lot of friends, others like to have only a few friends, and some people prefer to keep to themselves.

37. Would you say that you have friends or would you rather keep to yourself?
1/ have friends___ 2/ keep to self___

IF NONE, GO ON TO QUESTION #43.

IF INTERVIEWEE HAS FRIENDS:

38. Would you say that you see any of these people___:
1/more than once a week___ 2/ at least once a week___
3/ at least once a month___ 4/ less than once a month___

39 Where do your friends live___? (CHECK ALL APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES.)
1/ in building___ 2/ not in building but in project
3/ in another project___ 4/ other _____(SPECIFY)

40. IF FRIENDS LIVE IN THIS PROJECT:
Did you know these friends in the project before you moved in here or did they become friends after you came here?
1/ knew before___ 2/ met here___
IF MET HERE, how did you meet them?_____
_____

41. IF FRIENDS DO NOT LIVE IN THIS PROJECT:
Did you make these friends who don't live in the project in the neighborhood where you used to live?
1/ yes___ 2/ no___

42. Since you have moved into the project, have you made any friends with people who live near the project but not in it?
1/ yes___ 2/ no___

43. In general, do you find it easy to make friends or hard to make friends?
1/ easy___ 2/ hard___

44. Do you think that it is easy to make friends in the project or do you think it is hard?
1/ easy___ 2/ hard___

45. What do you think of your neighbors?_____

46. Do you and your neighbors in the building borrow things th from one another?
1/ no___ yes___
IF YES, how often?
2/ very often___ 3/ occasionally___ 4/ seldom___

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

47. What do you think of the people who live near the project but not in it?_____

48. What do you think these people think of you?_____

49. Do you belong to any groups or organizations or activities that are not in the project?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what?_____

50. IF NO, would you like to?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what?_____

51. People often talk about the United States being divided into the Upper Class, Middle Class, Working Class, and Lower Class. What class would you say you belong to?
1/ UC____ 2/ MC____ 3/ WC____ 4/ LC____

52. Do you expect that you will ever move out of the class?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, into which class?
2/ UC____ 3/ MC____ 4/ WC____ 5/ LC____

53. What class would you say that your neighbors, in general belong to?
1/ UC____ 2/ MC____ 3/ WC____ 4/ LC____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

I would like to ask you just a few questions about your family.

54. Aside from the people who live with you, do you see any of your relatives regularly?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, would you say you see them:
2/ more than once a week____ 3/ at least once a week____
4/ at least once a month____ 5/ less than once a month____

55. Where do your relatives live?
1/ out of state/country____ 2/ in building____
3/ in project but not in building____
4/ in another project____ 5/ in metropolitan Boston____
6/ other_____(SPECIFY)

56. Who would you say you spend most time with?
1/ spouse____ 2/ children____ 3/ relatives____
4/ friends____ 5/ other_____
Who would you like to spend most time with?
1/ spouse____ 2/ children____ 3/ relatives____
4/ friends____ 5/ other_____

(TAKE A MOMENT TO ENTER THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FROM PAGE 2 AND THEN PROCEED WITH APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS.)
(MARRIED? YES____ NO____ CHILDREN? YES____ NO____)

IF HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE LIVING TOGETHER:

57. How would you say that you and your husband (wife) get along:
1/ well____ 2/ poorly____ 3/ other_____
Explain_____

58. Do you and your husband (wife) share work around the aprtment or do you each have your own jobs to do?
1/ share____ 2/ own jobs____

59. Who would you say your husband (wife) spends most time with?
1/ spouse____ 2/ children____ 3/ relatives____
4/ friends____ 5/ other____

IF INTERVIEWEE HAS CHILDREN:

60. Would you say that your children give you:
1/ enjoyment____ 2/ satisfaction____
3/ aggrevation____ 4/ headaches____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

I would like to go on now to the way people get admitted to housing projects and the reasons they leave.

61. The waiting list of applicants for public housing varies from project to project. How long did you wait after applying for admission?
1/ under a month____ 2/ under six months____
3/ under a year____ 4/ over a year_____

62. Were you kept informed by people in the housing office about where you were on the list, when you could expect to be admitted?
1/ no____ 2/ yes____

63. Do you know anyone who got in faster than you did?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, why did they get in faster?
2/ shorter waiting list____ 3/ more vacancies____
4/ "knew someone"____ 5/ other_____

64. Can you remain in the project as long as you follow regulations?
1/ yes____ 2/ no____

65. For what reasons can you be evicted? (CHECK ALL THINGS MENTIONED)
1/ non-payment of rent____ 2/ breaking regulations____
3/ not getting along with manager____
4/ not getting along with neighbors____
5/ other_____(SPECIFY)

66. Have you ever been threatened with eviction?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, did you do anything about it?
2/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what?
3/ call housing authority____ 4/ call city hall____
5/ call politician____ 6/ other_____

IF NOT THREATENED WITH EVICTION:

67. If you were threatened with eviction what would you do about it?
1/ move out without doing anything____
2/ call housing authority____ 3/ call city hall____
4/ call politician 5/ other_____

68. Do you know anyone who has been evicted?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, why?
2/ non-payment of rent____ 3/ breaking regulations____
4/ not getting along with manager____
5/ not getting along with neighbors____
6/ other_____(SPECIFY)

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

69. Do you disapprove of any of the housing regulations?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, which ones?_____
_____
(IF YES TO 69, ask)

70. Have you complained to anyone about it (them)?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, to whom?
2/ management____ 3/ friend____ 4/ tenant's council____
5/ other_____

71. Who makes the rules around here?
1/ manager____ 2/ housing authority____ 3/ state legislature__
4/ Federal legislature____
5/ other____(EXPLAIN)_____

82. How can the rules be changed?
1/ manager____ 2/ housing authority____ 3/ state legislature
4/ Federal legislature____ 5/ tenants____

83. What does the housing authority do?
_____
_____

84. How did you find out what the housing authority's job is?
1/ told by management____ 2/ told by other tenants____
3/ don't know what housing authority does____
4/ other____

85. Do you think that rent should be increased with income increase, (as it is now) or should rent be fixed at a flat rate, (the same rent for all similar apartments).
1/ increase rent with increased income_____ 2/ flat rate___

86. As you know, tenants must leave public housing when their income reaches a certain level. Do you think it is better for the housing authority to investigate income (such as by asking employer) or should the tenant himself he asked to swear that he makes less than the maximum income allowed in public housing without having to state his exact income?
1/ housing authority investigation___
2/ tenant statement___

87. Before you moved in, what did you think of public housing as a place to live?
1/ good____ 2/ bad____
Have you changed your opinion?
3/ no____ 4/ yes____

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

In both private and public housing, tenants often form groups to discuss common problems of living together. These groups are often called tenants' councils.

72. Have you ever heard of a tenants' council in this project?
1/ no____ yes____
IF YES, what kinds of things do they do?
2/ discuss problems____ 3/ get action____ 4/ nothing____
5/ other_____

IF INTERVIEWEE HAS HEARD OF A TENANTS' COUNCIL IN PROJECT:

73. Have you ever attended meetings?
1/ yes____ no____
IF NO, why not?
2/ too busy____ 3/ not interested____
4/ Tenants' Council doesn't do anything____
5/ other_____

IF INTERVIEWEE HAS NOT HEARD OF TENANTS' COUNCIL IN PROJECT:

74. If a tenants' council was set up and the tenants could decide who would be admitted to the project, would you be willing to attend meetings if they met weekly?
1/ yes____ no____
IF NO, would you attend monthly?
2/ yes____ 3/ no____

75. Would you be interested in helping your friends move into this project?
1/ no____ 2/ yes____

76. Would you be interested in helping your relatives move into this project?
1/ no____ 2/ yes____

77. If a tenants' council was set up and the tenants could change the housing regulations, would you be willing to attend meetings if they met weekly?
1/ yes____ no____
IF NO, monthly
2/ yes____ 3/ no____

78. If a tenants' council was set up is there anything you would be interested in having them do? _____

79. Some people like to live in apartments, where they think they they have more advantages while other people prefer to own their own home. Would you prefer to rent an apartment or own your own home?
1/ own____ rent____
IF RENT, would you want to continue to rent in public housing or move to a private apartment building?
2/ public____ 3/ private____

80. Some public housing projects in other states allow the tenants to apply their rent towar buying the apartment they are living in. If Boston has to do this, would you buy this apartment?
1/ yes____ 2/ no____

81. What in general is your feeling about public housing?_____

I want to thank you very much for all the time you've given to me. Do you have any other comments about what we've discussed?_____

INTERVIEWERS IMPRESSIONS (TO BE COMPLETED AFTER LEAVING THE APARTMENT)

1. Interviewee's: State of mind_____
Friendliness_____
Cooperation_____
Interest_____
Knowledgibility_____

2. Impression of apartment (BE SPECIFIC)_____

3. Additional comments_____

4. How many people besides interviewer and interviewee were in apartment during the interview?_____
Who?_____
Who participated in the interview?_____